HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Hopes for 100,000 in Oct. 21 Demonstration

Radical Left Plans Pentagon Blockade

From the Allen-Scott Report

The peace movement is changing strategy and tactics to become more militant.

Organizers of next month's massive anti-war demonstration here in Washington are planning to use tactics designed to provoke violence by trying to shut down vital defense operations.

The strategy of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Viet Nam provides for ringing the Pentagon with a human blockade of 100,000 peace activists so that none of an estimated 10,000 employes can get to their jobs on that day.

By triggering this direct confrontation, strategists of the peace movement believe they can force U.S. authorities to call in Army units, since neither the regular Defense Department guards or the state police of Virginia, where the Pentagon is located, would be able to handle such a peace mob.

Either by accident or design, the anti-war protest will coincide with two unannounced war emergency moves being planned by the Johnson Administration.

The first is an announcement of a short pause in the bombing of North Viet Nam planned for mid-October. It will be issued in response to a request from President-Elect Nguyen Van Thieu after he assumes office next month in South Viet Nam.

The second is the initial gathering here of all of the 4,000 members of the National Defense Executive Reserve (NDER), who have government assignments to take over top-level positions in time of national emergency. The reserve includes many of the nation's top business executives.

Since a number of the NDER will be training in their mobilization assignments at the Pentagon over the October 21-22 weekend, the anti-war demonstration could involve them in an exercise approaching the real thing.

The possibility of a violent confrontation is also indicated in policy statements made by Jerry Rubin, the militant pro-Castro student leader picked by the National Mobilization Committee to direct the Pentagon shutdown.

Pentagon employes coming to work next October 21 may find some additional excitement besides the usual traffic rush.

"The peace movement is no longer one of mere protest and demonstrations," the 20-year-old Rubin lectured organizers recently in his newly acquired Washington headquarters. "We are now in the business of wholesale and widespread resistance and dislocation of American society. Our immediate objective is to close down the Pentagon. We will provoke an incident that has worldwide repercussions, whatever its outcome."

Friends of Rubin, who founded the Viet Nam Day Committee in 1965 after returning from a two-months trip to Cuba, claim that he is capable of doing just that.

In his preparations for the Pentagon blockade, Rubin is being aided by the Rev. James Bevel, director of the National Mobilization Committee and an important aide of Dr. Martin Luther King. Bevel organized the New York peace rally last May that drew 100,000.

One of the mysteries of the current planning of the National Mobilization Committee involves a scribbled note in one of the staff's "October 21" files, stating:

"LBJ and all 50 governors will be out of the country on Oct. 21. This should be considered in our planning."

On that date all or most of the nation's governors will be aboard ship returning from the Virgin Islands. They will be guests of the governor there for two days during their sea-going national conference.

The White House refused to reveal the President's plans for October 21. However, some Administration insiders report the President is considering another Pacific trip to confer with his military advisers on Viet Nam in October. No dates have yet been set.

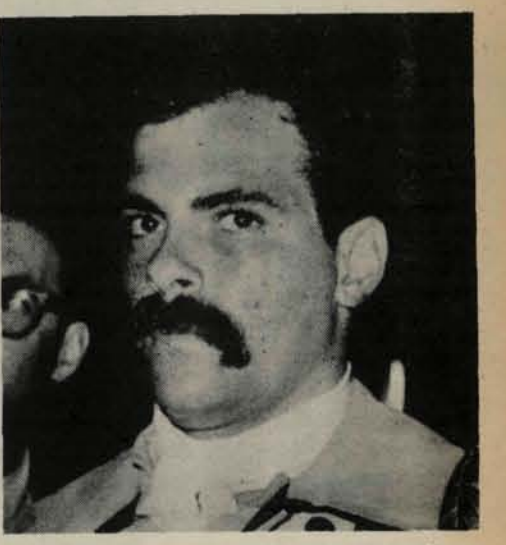
★ ★ ★

A meeting of peace advocates from unions on November 11 in Chicago will seek to determine how labor can be brought into the growing anti-Viet Nam war movement.

Preparations for the conference are being made by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, headed by Dr. Benjamin Spock, which so far has been unsuccessful in efforts to get rank-and-file union members to join in the peace movement.

Three secretary-treasurers of AFL-CIO unions, who have joined in the movement, will attend the Chicago meeting: Patrick E. Gorman, of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Emil Mazey of the United Automobile Workers, and Frank Rosenblum of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Mazey is saying privately that Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, plans to join the movement once it is organized.



Long-time ultra-leftist Jerry Rubin will direct the Pentagon fracas. He will be aided by Rev. James Bevel, a top aide to Dr. Martin Luther King.

Arrangements are being made to have Dr. Martin Luther King and former Ambassador John Kenneth Galbraith address the meeting and outline their plans for formation of an anti-war, civil rights and student political coalition for 1968.

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Breaking Up the Public Schools
Page 5

The Full Story of Romney's Anti-Goldwater Stand in '64
Page 8

Will Viet Nam Barrier Work?
Page 11

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HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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CONTENTS

Why the Public School System Should Be Broken Up—From Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly 5
Brainwashing George Romney—By James Jackson Kilpatrick 5
Indonesia—What's Ahead?—By Richard Bocklett 6
Betty Furness as '68 Campaigner—By Willard Edwards 6
Will GOP Offer a Choice in Foreign Policy?—By Edgar Ansel Mowrer 7
H. L. Mencken Could Have Answered Prof. Rodo—By Alice Widener 7
Dear Barry . . . Sorry About That—By Antoni E. Gollan 8
Venezuela Hopes to Pressure U.S. into Stopping Castro's Subversion—From the Allen-Scott Report 10
Federal Spending on Cities Jumps 165% in Only 10 Years—By Rep. Charles M. Teague 10
McNamara's Iron Curtain—By Gen. Thomas A. Lane 11
Can Nixon Make Comeback?—By Holmes Alexander 12
Answering the Mail—By Morrie Ryskind 12
The "New Politics": Mixture of Racism, Communism and Blackmail—By Ralph de Toledano 13
How Liberals Would Control "Dangerous Thoughts"—By Frederic Nelson 14

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● Politicos are speculating that Sen. **Charles Percy** (R.-Ill.), now seeking the GOP presidential nomination in 1968, is trying to change his "soft-on-communism" image to make himself more acceptable to the conservative wing of the GOP. Though Percy has been a leader in promoting East-West togetherness, last week he lambasted Soviet Russia for refusing to permit two U.S. Coast Guard icebreakers to pass through the Vilkitsky Straits north of the Soviet Union. In a very out-of-character remark, Percy termed the Soviet move an "unfriendly act," suggesting it might abruptly end further steps toward a detente.

● A three-man team from the Justice Department has widened the scope of its investigation into the activities of **Adam Clayton Powell,** the Harlem lawmaker who has been excluded from taking his seat in Congress by the House of Representatives. Specifically, the investigators are looking for evidence regarding bribery, theft and making false statements to the United States government.

● The poll taken by Frank R. Lee and Associates in Washington, revealing that twice as many Republican county chairmen prefer Ronald Reagan over George Romney for the GOP presidential nomination, also makes another interesting finding: These same county chairmen believe that **city riots** will loom as a bigger issue than the Viet Nam war in 1968.

● Not caught by most of the press in connection with Romney's charge that he was brainwashed when he spent three and a half days in Viet Nam in 1965: One of the two State Department escorts for the Romney tour was none other than **Jonathan Moore**, now Romney's chief adviser on foreign policy.

● *Random House is apparently going to give* **Stokely Carmichael** a prestigious sounding board for his revolutionary views. The book company is planning to publish "Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America," coauthored by Carmichael and Dr. Charles Hamilton, a Negro professor of political science at Chicago's Roosevelt University. The publishers, while acknowledging the book is "extreme" and "revolutionary," nevertheless stress that the book "presents the political framework and ideology which represents the last reasonable opportunity of this society to work out its racial problems. . . ." The Carmichael book is due out Cctober 23.

● Another publisher, Dial Press, confirms that next fall it will bring out a book by **H. Rap Brown,** who succeeded Carmichael as chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

● *The pro-Communist National Guardian* carries in a recent issue an ad for the **Third Annual Socialist Scholars Conference,** held September 9 and 10 in the New York Hilton. The advertised speakers included several known Communists such as Philip Foner. Also on the program were Michael Harrington, inspiration for LBJ's "War on Poverty" program, and old State Department hand Owen Lattimore.

● Rep. Robert Taft Jr. (R.-Ohio) accused the Justice Department last week of peddling **phony statistics** in claiming success in its war on organized crime. Noting that the President's Crime Commission had estimated Cosa Nostra membership at 5,000, Taft said that since 1961, only 130 of these mobsters had been convicted. "That amounts to roughly 2.6 per cent of Cosa Nostra membership for the entire seven-year period," Taft said, "a conviction rate of 0.4 per cent per year."

● Though Gov. **Nelson Rockefeller** claimed last week that he had lost his drive to gain *the Republican presidential nomination,* Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller in Arkansas says his brother is willing to accept a "draft."

● When LBJ is criticized by liberals for not spending enough on **non-defense domestic matters,** he is reported to become very irate, pointing out that when he came into office the government's bookkeeping budget totaled around $98 billion. In 1968—just four years later—*that budget, he says, is up to* $143 billion, with more than half that amount going for programs other than war. LBJ stresses that for the current year he has asked Congress for new urban spending programs that total $6.8 billion.

● Baltimore labor leaders put on quite a show following the city's recent Democratic mayoral primary. Local **COPE officials** were in a foul mood because their candidate, Peter Angelos, was soundly defeated by City Council President Thomas D'Alesandro. A number of labor strong-arm types then proceeded to the D'Alesandro headquarters and beat unconscious a union official who had opposed Angelos. The labor statesmen then assaulted a state senator, his wife, his sister-in-law, mother and aide.

● Regarding that nuclear **non-proliferation treaty,** Rep. Craig Hosmer (R.-Calif.), a ranking Republican on the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, remarks that the International Atomic Energy Agency is expected to emerge as the chief agency supervising the treaty's still-to-be-agreed-on inspection provisions. "At the beginning of 1967," notes Hosmer, "it employed only 11 inspectors . . . had few skills in techniques of inspection, was woefully underfinanced and a Communist Czechoslovakian was chief of its Inspection Division."

● Latest offensive in the **"War on Poverty":** Uncle Sam has granted a $2,485 contract to train 18 Good Humor ice cream vendors in Windsor, Conn.

● Two investigators for the House Education and Labor Committee have submitted a fact-filled report to the full committee charging that **anti-poverty workers** helped create the climate of unrest that led to Newark's riots last July. Among the findings: that anti-poverty workers played a major role in "publicizing and organizing a police brutality mass rally" which "did significantly contribute to the volatile climate which prevailed."

● Anti-poverty officials in Lake County, Ind., have conducted an all-out **voter registration campaign** *to aid Richard G. Hatcher, Democratic* nominee for Gary mayor. When Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen lodged a vigorous protest, the poverty warriors said they would cut out the high-pressure tactics, but would continue to provide registration information "upon request."

● The biggest **defense appropriation bill** in history—$69.9 billion—won final congressional approval in the Senate last week and was sent to the White House, but LBJ said even this monstrous sum would not be sufficient to pay all the expenses this year of the Viet Nam war and the nation's defenses.

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Bad News for LBJ

Returning to the Capitol after canvassing their home districts for voter sentiment during the recent recess, both Democratic and Republican lawmakers report a deepening public disaffection with the President and his policies on all the major issues:

Voters want to win or get out of Viet Nam; they are strongly opposed to the proposed tax increase; they are opposed to expanded East-West trade and they deplore the anti-poverty program. Rep. Bob Wilson (R.-Calif.), chairman of the GOP campaign committee in the House, reports that even low-income people—those earning under $4,000 a year—want to see the poverty program substantially curtailed or even abolished.

The President's low standing with the voters portends even more severe trouble for LBJ's legislative program, most of which has been in the doldrums for months. As of today, Congress has passed only six of 52 bills Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D.-Mont.) listed on July 10 as "must" legislation.

Reflecting surging voter sentiment against a tax boost, Chairman Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.) of the tax-writing House Ways and Means Committee last week scorned all arguments for increases demanded by the Administration. Warned that the fiscal deficit for 1968 might be $29 billion, Mills said: "Maybe it would be better for us just to have the $29-billion deficit for once. Then we could see all the problems it would generate."

MILLS

Mills repeatedly voiced fears the 10 per cent surcharge on individual and corporate tax payments requested by LBJ wouldn't turn out to be temporary at all and that the additional revenue would just be soaked up in higher government spending.

Faced with bad news on the legislative front, LBJ was also given a bleak picture of the Democratic party's chances next year. A number of top legislators informed him that as a result of his unpopularity the Democrats will almost surely lose control of the House in 1968, and the Republicans are expected to make substantial gains in the Senate. Freshman Birch Bayh (D.-Ind.) is so afraid of the "Johnson drag" that he is already campaigning for re-election. Glum Hoosier Democrats believe LBJ could lose the state by nearly 250,000 votes.

Gov't Pushes Red Trade

Although Communist countries continue to pour massive aid into North Viet Nam, the Johnson Administration has launched a full-scale campaign to block the House from adopting Red-trade restrictions which the Senate attached to the Export-Import Bank legislation.

BYRD

In a hearing before the House Banking and Currency Committee last week, three high-ranking officials concentrated their fire on two Senate amendments.

One proposal, sponsored by Harry Byrd (D.-Va.), would bar the bank from providing loans or guarantees to nations whose governments furnish goods to North Viet Nam.

The other main restriction, offered by Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.), would kill plans to have the bank participate in the proposed sale of $50 million of quality American machine tools to the huge automobile plant Italy's Fiat company is building in the Soviet Union.

Secretary of Commerce Alexander B. Trowbridge contended the Byrd-Mundt amendments could impede American exports and, without offering any proof, suggested they would have no effect on the flow of goods to North Viet Nam. His views were endorsed by President of Ex-Im Harold F. Linder and Under Secretary of the Treasury Joseph Barr, who worried about the loss of trade and the consequent harm to the American balance-of-payments position.

House Republicans were horrified at the Administration's line of reasoning. Rep. Paul Fino (R.-N.Y.), a leading opponent of East-West trade, exclaimed he was "shocked" at these statements. "You seem more concerned with the loss of American dollars," Fino charged, "and very little concerned about American lives lost in Viet Nam."

Asserting that 80 per cent of North Viet Nam's war material came from the Soviet Union, the fiery Bronx lawmaker said the United States must do everything possible to stop this flow "and bring our boys home."

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

Defending the Byrd amendment, Fino and other lawmakers contend that few countries are likely to continue any sort of trade with Hanoi at the risk of losing far more profitable trade with the United States. They also favor the Mundt restriction, since it would prevent the Soviet Union from acquiring high-quality American machine tools that could be used for military purposes. Constituents should write to both their senators and congressmen now to support the Byrd-Mundt amendments to the Export-Import Bank legislation.

• Only one Republican on the House Banking and Currency Committee has said he will vote against the Byrd-Mundt amendments. That Republican: Chester Mize (R.-Kan.). Mize, a member of the liberal Wednesday Club, says he will back the Administration for "practical reasons" despite what he called the "patriotic" appeal of Fino. Opposed to Red trade in the past, the Kansas congressman took a Cook's Tour of the Soviet Union under Democratic auspices last year and came back hailing trade with the enemy and singing hymns to the Fiat deal.

The Gavin Gambit

Politicos in the Capitol are somewhat bemused by the recent flurry of reports that Eastern Establishment Republicans are considering getting behind Lt. Gen. James M. Gavin (U.S.A.-Ret.) for the GOP presidential nomination now that Romney appears to have fumbled the ball. Gavin, a chief critic of the Viet Nam war, also seems to be taken with the idea and is currently plunging into various efforts to generate publicity for himself. In recent weeks, he has:

• Embarked on a "crash project" book on Viet Nam, with publication scheduled by Random House early in January, well before the first presidential primary in March.

• Scheduled a trip to Viet Nam at the invitation of Gen. William C. Westmoreland.

• Conferred with various liberal Republicans—among them former Gov. William Scranton, Sen. Thruston Morton and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller—about various political matters, including the possibility of Gavin's entering Republican presidential primaries on a "peace platform" aimed at reducing American forces in Viet Nam and increasing federal expenditures for the urban areas.

• Become the beneficiary of a fund-raising effort by some New York businessmen and reportedly been promised substantial aid by major Republican contributors if he decides to enter the race.

Whatever Gavin decides to do, however, politicos feel he has no more than a will-o'-the-wisp chance of going anywhere with the GOP.

Gavin's opposition to the war in Viet Nam, expressed with such fervor that the Communist *Worker* has taken to praising him profusely, has earned him the name the "peacenik" general among military men, and few politicos believe the GOP is about to nominate an all-out dove even if clothed in mufti. While some Eastern liberals apparently hope Gavin will catch on with the voters the way Ike did, pros point out that Gavin doesn't have nearly the reputation that made Eisenhower a winner in 1952. Moreover, Gavin has been a long-time friend of the Kennedys and, indeed, helped put JFK in the White House.

Gavin is the man who shook the nation in 1958 with charges that the U.S. missile program was in desperate shape and that we were far behind Russia in this field. When he retired to protest the missile gap, the Democrats took up the cry and turned it into a "bread and butter" 1960 campaign issue. After his election, JFK, himself, admitted that the missile gap was false.

For his help in launching this phony campaign issue, however, Gavin received a posh appointment from JFK as ambassador to France. He has been close to the Kennedys ever since, having just recently been a member of the Massachusetts Democratic Advisory Council under Kennedy auspices.

That the Republicans would, in a national convention, nominate a "Kennedy man" seems very unlikely to realistic pros, but conservatives are not exactly surprised that some liberal GOPers, who have always turned their back on party principle, would try to project a non-Republican like Gavin into the GOP presidential race.

The Anti-McNamara Band

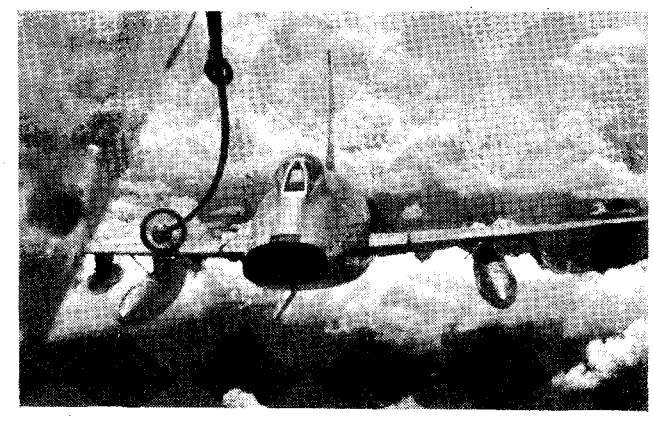
Speculation is growing in Washington that LBJ may be losing some of the supreme confidence he once had in Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara. Here's why:

• Contrary to McNamara's advice, LBJ is stepping up the bombing of North Viet Nam, permitting heavy air assaults in the port city of Haiphong through which flows massive military aid to the North Vietnamese.

• The President, it is now understood, is also seriously considering funding a partial anti-ballistic missile system, even though McNamara has been dead-set against its development and deployment.

The President's enthusiasm for his defense secretary may also be cooling because of the unceasing flak he has been receiving from Capitol Hill. Within the last few weeks McNamara has taken some of the heaviest barrage of congressional criticism to date:

• The Senate Preparedness subcommittee, aside from issuing that stinging indictment of McNamara's bombing policies for North Viet Nam, charged last week that Pentagon practices have created a serious shortage of military pilots that could last into the 1970s.



An F100 takes on fuel aloft after a raid on North Viet Nam. Under McNamara's regime, the United States is suffering a crucial shortage of military pilots.

• Sen. Richard B. Russell, influential chairman of the Armed Services Committee, has voiced serious

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doubts about the effectiveness of that "barrier" McNamara wants to build between North and South Viet Nam.

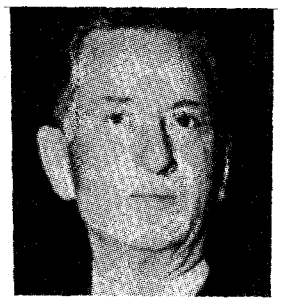
• The Senate Defense Appropriations subcommittee released a highly damaging transcript dealing with McNamara's "baby," the F-111, nee TFX. Though heavily edited by McNamara's staff, the transcript still disclosed the fact that Navy test pilots have found the plane almost useless. More than 100 major deficiencies were discovered in the craft, now three years behind schedule. (Over in the House, Ohio Republican William Minshall, a member of the Defense Department Appropriations subcommittee, said testimony on the F-111 before his subcommittee can be "boiled down to a few words—the F-111B has been a complete dog.")

• Sen. John Pastore (D.-R.I.) served notice on McNamara last week that his powerful Joint Atomic Energy Committee would fight for deployment of a full-scale anti-ballistic missile system. Indirectly taking a slam at the defense secretary, Pastore said the United States has "no effective anti-ballistic missile system," despite a defense budget of more than $70 billion. Meanwhile, said Pastore, the Red Chinese are now a thermonuclear threat. "Add to this . . . the fact that the Soviet Union's offensive striking power is increasing in comparison to our own—while at the same time they are deploying one and probably two anti-ballistic missile systems to defend their country—which we are not doing—I repeat—we are not doing."

• Rep. Otis Pike (D.-N.Y.) continued his exposes of Pentagon waste, disclosing new instances in which the government was paying excess prices ranging from 500 to 2,500 per cent. The goods, moreover, were not even needed. They were available in government storage bins. Associates say that McNamara has been so angered by Rep. Pike's disclosures that "he can't see straight." In a fit of pique, McNamara protested to a colleague, "He's doing this just to annoy me."

Should Stokely be Prosecuted?

Guided by Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark's "soft-on-criminals" philosophy, the Justice Department has repeatedly told inquisitive reporters and congressmen that it has no plans to prosecute Negro revolutionary Stokely Carmichael should he decide to return to the United States. The department also strongly suggests that there is no federal law under which he can be prosecuted.



WHITTAKER

The department takes this position despite the fact that Carmichael has preached open insurrection in various American cities, has met with Communist revolutionaries in Havana to plot guerrilla uprisings in the United States, has hailed America's Communist enemies and has even threatened the life of the President of the United States.

Former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court Charles E. Whittaker, however, appears to take sharp issue with the Justice Department's namby-pamby attitude toward Carmichael.

Writing in response to a recent letter from *Human Events*, Justice Whittaker remarks:

"Your letter asked: 'Do you believe there is a basis for prosecution of [Stokely] Carmichael under existing federal statues, and if so, could you convey . . . your thinking on the matter?' Based upon press-reported statements, actions and conduct of Mr. Carmichael, and assuming them to be true, I have no doubt whatever that Mr. Carmichael has thereby violated existing federal statutes, and, of course, such violations constitute a basis for his prosecution under those statutes so violated."

Our Rhodesian Folly

The Administration's kow-towing to the British on the Rhodesian question has put American dollars into the hands of Soviet Russia. Until January 7 of this year, the bulk of America's chromite supplies came from Rhodesia, the pro-Western, anti-Communist country which in 1965 declared its independence from Great Britain.

In response to the United Nations sanctions against the Rhodesian regime, however, the United States not only stopped purchasing chromite from this Western-oriented nation, but began to make its major chromite purchases from Hanoi's chief supporter, Soviet Russia.

According to the New York *Times*, this year the Soviet Union instead of Rhodesia will become the largest supplier of chromite for American producers of stainless steel, with the volume of imports from Russia amounting to over 350,000 tons.

Sedition Case Dismissed

Four members of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF)—Anne and Carl Braden and Allen and Margaret McSurely—and Joseph Molloy, an organizer for Appalachian Volunteers, an anti-poverty program, had their indictments quashed last week when a federal panel, splitting 2 to 1, ruled Kentucky's 47-year-old sedition law as unconstitutional. The two-judge majority said the Kentucky law was too "vague," claiming even if it contained no flaws, sedition is strictly a matter for federal prosecution. The dissenting judge said the federal courts had no business intervening at such an early stage of the prosecution.

About a week previously, a Pike County, Ky., grand jury had indicted the five, charging that a "well-organized and well-financed effort is being made to promote and spread the Communistic theory . . . to overthrow the government of Pike County." Among other things, said the jury report, "Some employes of the Appalachian Volunteers and other federally financed anti-poverty programs have collaborated and cooperated with known Communist organizers."

Controversial figures, the McSurelys had by last spring become organizers for the Bradens, who run the militantly left SCEF. McSurely came out of the United Planning Organization, the anti-poverty agency in Washington, and his wife was an alumnus of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. The walls of their house in Pike County were decorated with the pictures of Ernesto "Che" Guevara, the Cuban revolutionary, and former Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev. Aside from admiring Stokely Carmichael as a political hero, they distributed literature opposing American policy in Viet Nam.

In the course of the hearings, chief prosecutor Thomas Ratliff, who is the GOP candidate for lieutenant governor, asked McSurely if he had been fired from a previous job with the Appalachian Volunteers because he was a "Communist." McSurely said he didn't know why he was fired. In response to Ratliff, the Bradens denied they had ever been "card-carrying members of the Communist party," but declined to say whether they had belonged to the party unless Ratliff could define what he meant by "Communist party membership." In 1958 Braden invoked the 1st Amendment before the House Committee on Un-American Activities when questioned about possible Communist activities.

CBS Plugs New Left

Conservatives were appalled last week as the Columbia Broadcasting System produced "The New Left," one of that network's special documentaries. What was billed as a "documentary" was in fact a thinly disguised apologia for ultra-liberalism.

Narrated by CBS reporter Bill Stout, one of the system's stable of liberal commentators, the program was to have featured *Human Events* Contributing Editor Phillip Abbott Luce speaking out against the pitfalls of the "New Left." Although newspapers announced he would appear on the program, the station never contacted him to tape his remarks.

Most of the documentary concerned itself with statements by prominent New Left leaders such as SDS bigwigs Tom Hayden and Carl Oglesby and *Ramparts* editor Robert Scheer. Included also were some rantings by "Black Power" leaders Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael. Examples of the usual mob scenes associated with the far left were shown, although these for the most part were played down; indeed, draft-card burnings were not even mentioned.

There was also little or no mention of communism; in fact, Herbert Aptheker, chief theoretician of the Communist party, was shown in a Hanoi film clip with Tom Hayden, but was not identified.

The CBS treatment of the New Left follows the network's granting of permission to ultra-leftist Pete Seeger to appear on the Smothers Brothers show. Seeger had refused to sign a non-Communist affidavit for another network and, prior to this appearance, had been banned from television (see *Human Events*, Sept. 16, 1967, page 4).

• Grateful to CBS for making him "respectable" once again, Seeger is nonetheless slightly miffed at network brass. The "Smothers Brothers" show on which Seeger made his comeback was taped in advance, and CBS edited out more than nine of Seeger's 20 minutes. CBS officials admit they killed one Seeger song, an anti-war ditty, because it was "controversial."

Treasury Aids Speculators

Sen. John J. Williams (R.-Del.) says that Treasury Department officials admit that an Administration "leak" of advance information on a recent $2.5-billion Treasury bond issue enabled speculators to make millions. He has called for a congressional investigation.

WILLIAMS

"This is the third time in the past few months that vital information has been leaked from the Treasury Department," Williams charged. "First, in May of this year, there was a premature leak of information concerning change in policy on silver. Second [in August], there was a leak of the President's message on the 10 per cent surtax and now once again there was a leak on the advance terms of a $2.5-billion bond issue."

The Treasury said it was looking into this latest leak, but Williams demands a probe by the Senate Finance Committee as well.

• Members of the financial community are convinced there also was a leak last week of the Federal Communications Committee's decision to delay forcing the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. to make a $120-million rate reduction. Although the FCC report was not released until Thursday morning, trading in AT&T stock was extremely active Wednesday afternoon, with the price advancing over $3 a share.

Bill Bans Gov t Inquisitors

While Sen. Sam Ervin's (D.-N.C.) bill on federal workers' rights may have some weaknesses, both liberals and conservatives applauded its overwhelming approval by the Senate last week as a sound step toward halting government invasion of privacy.

Save for certain agencies like the FBI and the CIA, the Ervin measure would prevent government departments and officials from using lie detectors and psychological tests on employes and would exempt most workers from making financial disclosure statements. The bill would also forbid federal agencies or officials to force employes to attend briefings, lectures or meetings not related to their work, or to take part in outside activities not related to other jobs.

The Administration is considered opposed to the bill in its present form, partly because it has continued to compel employes to participate in partisan Democratic activities through black-jack tactics.

Richard H. Amberg

The conservative community in general—and *Human Events* in particular—lost a very good friend with the death of Richard H. Amberg, September 3. The dynamic publisher of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, Mr. Amberg was extremely active in civic affairs, with the Boy Scouts, the Salvation Army, the Herbert Hoover Boys Club all benefiting from his generosity. As a businessman, his most notable achievement was rescuing a dying newspaper and, in only 12 short years, transforming the *Globe-Democrat* into one of the most eloquent and powerful voices of conservatism in the Midwest.

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Monopoly Harmful to Education

Why the Public School System Should Be Broken Up

Reprinted with permission from Barron's *National Business and Financial Weekly*, Sept. 11, 1967

What another era called the back-to-school season once again is in full swing. Nowadays, so the headlines suggest, the phrase (like the nation's school bells) has an increasingly hollow ring. Instead of the traditional apple, a hip pupil will get higher marks for bringing a sandwich and a cup of coffee for the teacher, who as likely as not is manning a picket line.

Unlike mothers and fathers of old, who confidently and safely exposed their offspring to the process of learning, a new generation of parents feels impelled to protest and boycott the education establishment. Johnny can't read or write, but he knows all about buses. Mary's little lamb, like Mary, is a high school drop-out.

Public education in this country, in short, has come perilously close to failure. Nor, despite the strident claims of teachers' unions, is money the answer.

Measured either in dollars or as a percentage of the gross national product, the United States in recent years has vastly expanded its outlays on schools without noticeable gains in knowledge. Although New York City spends more per pupil than virtually any other metropolis, everyone who can afford to, from the mayor to the local boycott leader, sends his children to private schools. What's basically wrong is that most people have no such freedom of choice.

By and large education remains a state monopoly, which, like most establishments of the kind, tends increasingly to be run less for the benefit of the citizen than for that of the staff. Lacking effective competition, public schools have become a privileged sanctuary for mediocrity, where seniority, not ability, governs pay and advancement. Bureaucracy does well to get a passing grade in life adjustment; only a system of merits and demerits, risks and rewards, can hope to achieve excellence.

While the crying need is for change, the outcry is for more of the same. Since 1950 the U.S. has stepped up expenditures per grade—and high school pupil from $209 annually to $569 (in New York state the figure comes to $912, or not much less than private schools charge for superior training). During the past six years alone, such outlays have surged by over 50 per cent, faster than either the increase in the cost of living or per capita GNP.

School budgets currently are rising at a record-breaking pace. Thus, a recent survey disclosed that 14 counties around New York City plan to spend an estimated 11.1 per cent more this school year than last, although the growth in enrollments has slowed. The contract which New York's teachers contemptuously rejected recently called for added outlays of $125 million, "the biggest wage package," according to Mayor Lindsay, "in the city's history." It would have established a basic salary scale of $6,600 to $11,000; teachers with extra qualifications could earn up to $13,600.

While not princely, such remuneration for less than 10 months of labor by a work force nearly 70 per cent of which consists of women, rather than male breadwinners, is not altogether mean in a land where family income averages $9,050, and college-trained secretaries earn perhaps one-third less. (As Prof. Milton Friedman has observed, "Poor teachers are grossly overpaid and good ones grossly underpaid.")

Its heavy investment, however, lately has yielded the nation less and less rather than more of the fruits of learning. Well-documented horror stories on the quality of education today—"Tomorrow's Illiterates," "Up the Down Staircase" and the like—have proliferated. High schools have graduated students who couldn't read their own diplomas.

According to the Council for Basic Education: "From the smallest hamlet to the largest city, every school system with the slightest claim to respectability has announced it will be conducting remedial reading classes this summer with federal grants." In a country where elementary and high school is compulsory, 250,000 otherwise qualified males couldn't pass a draft test based on a fifth-grade education.

Academic failings aside, the public school system has become a perennial source of social unrest. Thus, huge education establishments in cities like New York have spawned mass unions less concerned with instruction of the young than with their own aggrandizement. (Card number one in the United Federation of Teachers, which today is seeking to close all of Gotham's public schools, was held by old Socialist John Dewey, father of "progressive" education.)

The National Education Association, which speaks for nearly one million teachers and school administrators, ranks among the nation's top lobbyists; last year it spent most of its money on behalf of greater federal aid.

Disputes over curricula, integration and busing have led to widespread boycotts. In some "disadvantaged" neighborhoods, vocal minority groups, often with public or private assistance, have sought to take over effective control of the schools.

In one flagrant case, a small clique in the Brownsville area of Brooklyn, newly organized into an experimental school unit with the help of the Ford Foundation, is seeking to appoint as principal a man who has been indicted on charges of conspi with members of the Revolutionary Action Movement to commit murder.

Innovation, in short, is running wild except where it counts; i.e., in the basic structure of the school system. On this source one of the more daring—and promising—proposals has come from a downtrodden minority for whom nobody seems to take up the cudgels, the tiny group of scholars who oppose collectivism in any form and champion the individual. They urge a switch from public to private schools, or what Milton Friedman, in *Capitalism and Freedom*, has aptly called the "denationalization of the education industry."

Under such a scheme the state would continue to enforce standards and school attendance; through some kind of voucher system, it also would finance universal schooling. However—here is the major breakthrough—parents would be free to patronize privately owned and operated schools of their own choice.

There is ample precedent: in both Britain and France, the government pays the fees of some students who attend private schools, while this country, in the original GI Bill of Rights, in effect furnished veterans with education vouchers.

Such a change might yield enormous gains. To quote Prof. Friedman: "If one were to seek deliberately to devise a system of recruiting and paying teachers calculated to repel the imaginative and daring and self-confident and to attract the dull and mediocre and uninspiring, he could hardly do better than imitate the system of requiring teaching certificates and enforcing standard salary structures that has developed in the larger city and state-wide systems. . . . The alternative system would resolve these problems and permit competition to be effective in rewarding merit and attracting ability to teaching."

As Prof. Robert L. Cunningham has observed in *The New Individualist Review*, monopolies, whether in education or any other realm, rarely are noted for their efficiency or quality. "Under the voucher system," he concludes, "the forces of competition between schoolmasters would increase educational quality, variety and innovation."

The late Isabel Paterson, far-sighted political commentator, deserves the last word. "The most vindictive resentment," she wrote in her book, *God of the Machine* (as quoted in Ayn Rand's *Capitalism: The Unknown Ideal*), "may be expected from the pedagogic profession for any suggestion that they be dislodged from their dictatorial position; it will be expressed mainly in epithets, such as 'reactionary,' at the mildest. The question to put to any teacher moved to such indignation is: Do you think nobody would willingly entrust his children to you and pay you for teaching them? Why do you have to extort your fees and collect your pupils by compulsion?"

Brainwashing George Romney

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

They washed his brain in Viet Nam, George Romney has complained. The scrubbing occurred in 1965, but the governor of Michigan just recently discovered it. He was counting his intellectual pillow cases and found that two of his tea towels were missing. Sorry about that, said the Pentagon; and there the matter stands.

Well, no tickee, no laundlee. It is possible to voice some sympathy for the befuddled Mr. Romney, but all things considered, it is not possible to voice very much. What the gentleman has said, in effect, is that he has such little toughness of mind that he can be taken in by a galaxy of generals any afternoon between 2 and 4. Therefore, elect him President of the United States.

If a prospective candidate for that high office has staged a clumsier, more witless performance than Mr. Romney on the matter of Viet Nam, the embarrassment does not come readily to mind.

Barry Goldwater suffered now and then from a speech impediment—he had his foot in his mouth—but even the Arizonan never spun off like Pinwheel George. Brainwashed, was he? It couldn't have been much of a laundry bill.

The gentleman from Michigan will have to do better if he expects to survive in the major leagues. Every day is wash day in this town. Morning, afternoon, and night, rub-a-dub-dub, the process goes along. You send your brain out before 9 o'clock; you have it back by 5, starched, ironed and only a little mangled. The brainwashers call and deliver.

The top brass are experts in the sanitizing arts. The reporter who covers a typical military briefing staggers away with a sense of positive admiration. Here the trick is to be decisively ambivalent, or, as an alternative, ambivalently decisive; it is the art of saying nothing, crisply.

The admirals and generals also have a technique known as the overload. They attack the subject brain with facts, figures, statistics, bar charts, flip cards and slide projectors, all at once, on Pan-a-Vision, three screens and a press kit. It is a sight to see.

The State Department, by contrast, washes brains as if it were washing lingerie. This is the soft squish, with gentle sudsing action, and it can be remarkably cleansing. Twice a year Mr. Rusk invites a few hundred newsmen, editorial writers and TV pundits to gather in his handsome auditorium.

For more on the politics of Gov. Romney, see page 8.

The ground rules say that "nothing is for attribution," which is a sound regulation, for nothing ever is said that is worth attributing to anyone. Yet the subtle effect is to persuade the visiting scribes that they are getting the Inside Dope. What they get is two cups of hoo-mali-mali, which is Hawaiian for the soft soap.

Some of the most artistic brainwashing takes place on Capitol Hill, usually in committee, but sometimes on the Floor. An experienced chairman can run a batch of favorable witnesses through a morning session with such deftness that his opposition winds up hanging on the line.

A great feat of brainwashing came along the other day, in the matter of the rat bill. By the time the last rinse had bubbled down the drain, half the country's editors truly believed that the rat bill was a good bill and should have been passed. Politically speaking, they had been taken to the cleaners.

Until the National Aeronautics and Space Administration lost its touch last winter, at the time of the capsule fire, NASA ranked as the finest brain laundry of them all. It was nothing for Jim Webb's boys to run off 62 senators and 300 members of the House in a single morning's work. Now one is inclined to award the blue-ribboned bottlecap to the Public Health Service for its anti-smoking campaign. The PHS is propagating some of the shakiest statistics since the *Literary Digest* elected Alf Landon in 1936, but the effect is like Mr. Clean going after Dirt. Wham!

The governor of Michigan will have to toughen his hide to Washington's incessant shampoo. The only defense is to cling to the healthy dirt of skepticism and a few stains of honest prejudice. Otherwise, a man can get swept away in rivers of statistical Tide and oceans of political Duz.

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First-Hand Report

Indonesia—What's Ahead?

By RICHARD BOCKLETT

Having experienced the largest anti-Communist blood bath in recent history, Indonesia is still not free of the Red threat. Temporarily routed and sent into hiding, the Indonesian Communist party (PKI) is rebuilding and reorganizing its forces, with the bitter lesson of past errors to guide them. Djakarta officials are not underestimating the remaining Communists. As one official stated, "The PKI cannot be ruled out as a potent factor in the country's future."

Communist China has not relented in its propaganda barrage against the present Indonesian government. The ChiCom press and broadcasts continue to heat the air, urging the surviving Indonesian Communists to rise up again and promising them the "resolute support of the Chinese people to overthrow Suharto and his Fascist regime."

Djakarta garrison chief of staff, Brig. Gen. Sutopo Juwono, charged recently that approximately 115,000 Chinese and Indonesians were part of an illegal movement to topple the government. After an intensive roundup of Communists and leftists, he revealed that many were pro-Peking elements following orders from Red Chinese broadcasts. The focal points for subversion were listed as Djakarta and East Java.

The whole island of Java, including the capital city, once a Sukarno-PKI stronghold, is a tinder box for the Communists. In Jogjakarta – a university city of some 35,000 students—jailed Reds are conducting daily classes in Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology, organizational matters and future logistics. In July the government captured an important PKI organizer in West Java, and a week later the military authorities arrested nine soldiers caught forming Communist cells in army units.

In addition to the prompting that the Indonesian Reds receive from Mao and his gang on the mainland, the Red Chinese Embassy in Djakarta is also busy stirring up strife and violence.

The embassy is particularly interested in embittering relations between the Indonesian Chinese and the Indonesian Muslims. With between 30 and 50 per cent of the rupiahs in circulation being in Chinese hands, anything that could cause them to curtail business or even flee the country could have a disastrous effect on the economy. To this end the members of the Red Chinese Embassy and the PKI turned a local subversion case into a violent racial clash.

On April 8, a Chinese Communist, Ning Hsiang Yu, was caught distributing Peking literature which exhorted the local Chinese to overthrow the government. Police Commissioner Darmo Sugondo announced that Ning was a former Chinese Army general and that he was operating under Peking orders. Five days after his capture by the Indonesian authorities Ning was dead—reportedly a suicide victim. A funeral procession for him was quickly whipped into an anti-government parade.

Another favorite Red target is the Indonesian army; Communist agents sow seeds of mistrust, promising rich rewards to those who join them. The armed forces stationed in Java, once avid Sukarno backers, received special attention from the Red propagandists.

For the time being at least, in spite of the continuing Communist agitation, the government under Gen. Suharto appears to have things under control.

Suharto, who reluctantly accepted national leadership in an hour of crisis, now exhorts his countrymen to seek only the immediately possible and the essential: food, clothing, and a measure of political and economic stability. "All our lives we have been asked to make sacrifices," a middle-aged politician remarked recently. "For a change, we're not trying to save the world—just ourselves."

The cabinet of Gen. Suharto has worked hard to feed and clothe the island nation's estimated 107-million population. It has not succeeded, however, in satisfying the increasingly vocal demands for an overnight repair of the economic structure that had been shattered by years of misrule, neglect and irresponsible spending.

In economic matters the new government has emphasized an almost austere fiscal policy, shutting off the funds from Sukarno's prestige projects and directing the revenues toward the food and clothing problem that has to be solved. The new regime has already returned to its former owners the tire, shoe and pharmaceutical factories that had been expropriated by Sukarno. Indonesia's ports have again been opened to free world shipping; the country's off-shore oil deposits are being worked, and her jungles have been opened to Japanese loggers and American mining companies.

The noisy impatience with the New Order is tempered with the knowledge that there is no force in Indonesia that is ready to take the place of the army and no man as well equipped to head the government as Gen. Suharto.

The question of whether Sukarno can come back hinges on the performance of the military government under Suharto. Judging from the accomplishments of the new government, there is little chance for Bung Karno to edge his way to the top again.

With a substantial number of the Communists either dead or in jail, the Red movement is not able to muster the mass base of support that it once had and that Sukarno depended on for much of his backing. With this destroyed, Sukarno is a virtual prisoner in his palace and the new government is relatively free to work toward bringing a new and better life for its people. Indonesia's anti-Communist victory is paving the way for a more peaceful era in the South Pacific.

Mr. Bocklett, a free-lance writer on international affairs, has just completed a two-month tour of Southeast Asia.

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Betty Furness, Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, joined CBS newsman Jim Jensen during a recent strike against the networks.

Betty Furness as '68 Campaigner

By WILLARD EDWARDS

From the White House viewpoint, Betty Furness has been such a smash as special assistant to the President for consumer affairs that she is under consideration for a prominent role in the 1968 political campaign.

When President Johnson appointed Miss Furness, 51, as his $26,000-a-year specialist on consumer problems last March 4, some misgivings were expressed about her experience and some impolite snickering when she confessed she had never been forced into the indignity of ordering her own groceries.

She was known, mainly, to millions of television viewers as the $100,000-a-year saleswoman who sweetly assured them that they could be sure if they purchased a famous brand refrigerator.

Sworn into office May 1, Miss Furness studied her assignment and came to certain decisions. One of them was to spurn any nonsensical pretense that the post was nonpolitical. LBJ was her sponsor and she gave him the same fervor that once attended her refrigerator pitch.

In speeches across the country, she told housewives they could be sure of protection in the market only if they put their trust in the President and the Democratic party. Everyone knew, she said, that Republicans were against protection of the consumer.

Reports of these talks were relayed to the White House and her standing escalated, as they say in Washington, until few stand higher in the President's esteem than she does today.

Congressional wags have suggested that the President's unbounded admiration for Miss Furness might elevate her to consideration as a replacement for Vice President Humphrey as a running mate next year.

More seriously, she is being talked about as a woman keynote speaker at the national convention. She is definitely scheduled to become a feminine warrior on the campaign trail, a militant preacher of party gospel, rallying the housewives of America to Johnson's support.

The President particularly liked a recent speech Miss Furness delivered in Los Angeles which was typical of her efforts. She jabbed at Gov. Ronald Reagan, a potential Republican presidential candidate, in this manner: "What I would really like to see is strong consumer representation – a consumer counsel—at the official state level, the way you once had here in California under the leadership of Gov. Pat Brown. Too bad that office has now lost its punch."

Then she sounded the main theme of all her oratorical efforts—the woes that will befall the consumer if Democrats are replaced with perfidious Republicans.

The Johnson Administration, she said, has "rediscovered" the consumer and initiated "the most ambitious and comprehensive consumers' program a President had ever presented to Congress."

If these programs were to be realized, she warned, Democrats had to be retained in power.

"Let the people know which party really has their interests at heart!" she harangued the housewives. "Let them know which party really cares about the consumer!"

Lest doubt remained in any listener, she provided the answer. The Republican party, she said, was pledged to end federal interference with consumer decisions in the market place and was therefore devoted to the slogan, "Let the consumer beware." The Democratic party was pledged to "effective government protection for consumers" and was helping them to get it.

This is the kind of political appeal the President understands. It is the no-holds-barred brand of campaigning that helped him to overwhelming victory in 1964 and he knows no other. This Furness gal, he confided to callers, could give lessons in selling a political message to some of his other supporters. Her future is bright.

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Will GOP Offer a Choice in Foreign Policy?

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

American political parties have never been homogenous and committed to single views.

Nonetheless, U.S. Republicans are doing the people no good by depriving them of a choice at the coming election between a foreign policy that aims at peace in cooperation with Russia and one that seeks safety by winning the Cold War and by rallying the free world against Russia.

There is nothing new in this. The political party in power has regularly maintained that "politics stop at the water's edge." Put bluntly, this means that whatever errors in foreign policy, of which war is only the extreme instance, a President makes, it is the people's patriotic duty to support him.

FDR may lose East Europe by insisting that he can handle Stalin. Truman can wash his hands of China with the result that we have since fought two wars in the Far East, neither of which would have been necessary had we helped Chiang Kai-shek defeat the Communists.

Eisenhower may appear to agree with MacArthur's policy of reuniting Korea by defeating Red China—and then, encouraged by the softies in his own party, tamely allow Korea to remain divided.

John F. Kennedy can, with impunity, humiliate the United States at the Bay of Pigs and the Berlin Wall, and risk South Viet Nam by pretending to neutralize Laos.

LBJ may safely try to make friends with the Soviet Union even while its weapons are killing thousands of Americans in Viet Nam.

Each one has argued that once he has decided on a foreign policy it is the duty of all Americans to support it.

Today, however, at least over the war in Viet Nam, citizens are radically divided: for and against; get on or get out; negotiate or win.

Such independence is indeed the essential of a true democracy. And in domestic matters, the two major parties sometimes do give the voters the chance to vote for what they want: more taxes or less expenditures, stern or lax enforcement of the law on rioters, illegal strikers, juvenile criminals, drug addicts, etc.

But on today's all-important foreign issues, the two parties are themselves so split that no citizen can be sure which party to vote for if he thinks freedom more important than peace; an Atlantic partnership with a united policy all over the world more desirable than bilateral agreements with Soviet despotism; military rulers preferable to Commies; boycotting Communist countries more appropriate than fattening them by trade; aid should be limited to friendly countries.

The voter cannot know which party to choose. For although LBJ can, as President, impose whatever foreign policy he likes upon Senators Fulbright and Bobby Kennedy, some Republicans loudly advocate offering their constituents an echo rather than a choice. For nowhere is there anything like a consensus among professional Republican politicians.

Nixon and Reagan proclaim a policy of victory over communism and whatever steps are necessary to implement it. They have not so far as I know condemned the Johnson policy of trying to create a virtual Russo-American monopoly of nuclear weapons. They are for victory in Viet Nam and properly accuse the President of half-heartedness. Yet neither has come out flatly for waging the Cold War by all necessary means.

On the other hand, Romney and Percy are "doves" on the subject of Viet Nam and apparently agree with Fulbright and Kennedy that peace can be had by talking about it and improving living standards.

Rockefeller has talked well of the need for Atlantic unity. But whether in a pinch he would choose to keep West Germany in NATO or snuggle closer to the Soviet Empire (if he cannot have both) I have not been able to ascertain.

Therefore we voters may well face the election 14 months from now without any real knowledge of how the two rival parties stand on the most important issue, our survival as a free country and better dead than Red.

If so we shall flounder along, presumably making concession after concession to Commie governments which never cease striving for what they want. And Charles de Gaulle will be ever more convinced that America, like Carthage 2,000 years ago, lacks what it takes to hold off a ruthless adversary.

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Presbyterian 'Survey' Article

H. L. Mencken Could Have Answered Prof. Rodo

By ALICE WIDENER

What this country needs is another H. L. Mencken to crack the skulls of the highly placed contemporary cultists and expose the vacuum in their heads where their brains ought to be. No respecter of persons, Mencken would have known how to take apart such seriously presented stuff and nonsense as the article "Must Everyone Have a Job?" by John R. Rodo in the current issue of *Survey*, official magazine of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

The author is "a Hungarian native," a professor of practical theology at San Francisco Seminary, and serves as chairman of the Economic Life Advisory Committee of UPUSA. His thesis is that work is a curse laid down on Adam and we should all be guaranteed an annual income by the government so we can lead a life of leisure devoted to good works and re-enter the Garden of Eden.

No kidding—that's what he says.

Oh to be a Mencken, now that Rodo's here! If only my pen were like that of the Baltimore sage, I'd be able to find the adjectives and epithets to deal with Rodo's rhodamine theory that our present day concept of work as desirable is merely a relic of the Puritan doctrine. Prof. Rodo warps the Scriptures to attack the concept of work as beneficial and idleness as detrimental, and he says the Puritan doctrine of work is "ill-adapted to the America of the cybernetics revolution."

Prof. Rodo rejects conventional remedies for unemployment—such as "giving people jobs"—and says the welfare way of life "makes underlings of people." What does Rodo want? Folks, taxpayers, hear this:

"So what can we do?" writes Rodo, in an allegedly serious church magazine. "The one thing we are least likely to do: we can discard the Puritan doctrine of work, sever the 'work-income link' and assure every citizen a decent minimum income as a matter of right."

Now and then in the stream of ideological tripe deemed fit to print by the Presbyterian editors of *Survey*, author John R. Rodo lets slip a few words showing his own Puritanical bias (if Puritanical means fanatical, as the New Moralists claim). He believes it downgrades human beings to find jobs for the unemployed so they can do busy work for a private or public corporation. Doing such busy work has a harmful moral impact on them, he alleges.

Rodo writes there will be "severe problems of transition" in achieving a leisure-oriented society living off a guaranteed annual income.

Who will raise the money for the guarantee? He doesn't say. Ready as he is to contemplate the likelihood of our having to face severe problems, this "practical theologian" seems most reluctant to face us taxpayers who earn the money to pay for his tax-exempt teachings.

Prof. Rodo concludes his article with the explanation that the life of leisure with government-guaranteed annual income for all may be described as "the life of full employment for God."

As I said, it's too bad H. L. Mencken, the sage of Baltimore, is no longer with us. All I can do is to remind Prof. Rodo that it wasn't the Puritans who invented the ethic of work. Five hundred years before the birth of Christ a Greek writer named Aesop wrote "The Ant and the Grasshopper."

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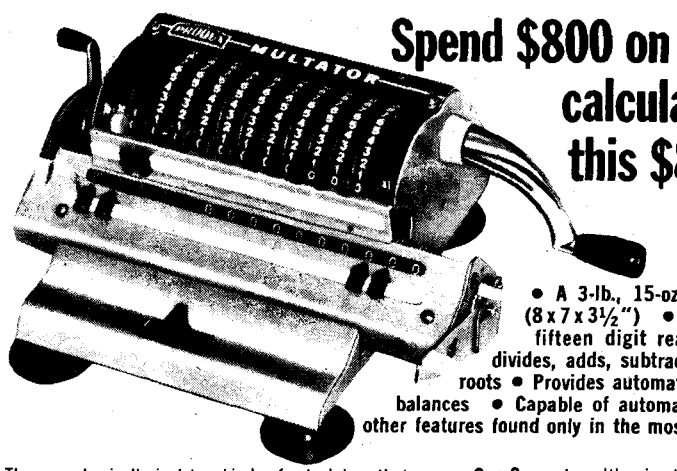

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George Romney and 1964

Dear Barry...Sorry About That

BY ANTONI GOLLAN

The flurry over George Romney's "brainwashing" blunder—see page 5—has not deterred him—or his chief aides—from their goal of capturing the Republican presidential nomination in 1968. Besides his vagueness on Viet Nam, Gov. Romney's other serious handicap is undoubtedly his failure to support Barry Goldwater in 1964. This whole episode —which Romney from time to time has attempted to obscure—is thoroughly chronicled in the article by Antoni Gollan which follows. This article is a chapter from Mr. Gollan's excellent new political biography, Romney: Behind the Image, *Crestwood Books, P. O. Box 2096, Arlington, Va., 22202, $1.50. Mr. Gollan, a former assistant editor of* Human Events *and a former editorial writer and political columnist for the Indianapolis* News, *is now editorial director of a California television station.*

DON DORNAN

George Romney faces many difficult obstacles to the 1968 presidential nomination of the Republican party.

But perhaps the most difficult will be the memory among Republicans of 1964 —and of Romney's public refusal to support the GOP's presidential candidate, even after Barry Goldwater had won the right in open convention to carry the party's standard.

By this singularly unorthodox action, the Michigan governor set himself apart from practically every other prominent Republican, not to mention those who had supported Goldwater all along.

For, in refusing to support his party's candidate, Romney drew the line between himself and former President Eisenhower, former Vice President Nixon, and even such liberal GOP leaders as Gov. William Scranton and Sen. Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, Charles Percy of Illinois and Mark Hatfield of Oregon. Despite previous differences with Goldwater sharper than those claimed by the governor, Scranton, Scott, Percy and Hatfield all campaigned for and supported the party's national ticket.

But George Romney did not. Nor did New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller.

Before the 1964 national convention, Romney was more outspoken against Goldwater. "I will do everything within my power to keep him from becoming the party's presidential candidate," he said.

Goldwater, observed Washington political writer Fletcher Knebel at the time, "is too conservative for Romney, and the Michigan governor is at pains to point out the differences."

Questions Evaded

Running for re-election as governor while Goldwater was campaigning for President, Romney sometimes found ticklish his position toward the GOP nominee. When he appeared before the Michigan AFL-CIO convention, Romney attempted to evade questions from the floor on how he himself intended to vote. The exchange soon produced this amusing dialogue:

Question: "Do you or don't you support the national Goldwater-Miller ticket?"

Romney: "My position is quite clear. The Republican party has made its decision on the platform and the candidates. I accept these decisions. I accept them, but I don't endorse them."

Shout from the floor: "Answer the question, George!" . . .

Question: "Will you support and vote for the Republican national presidential and vice presidential candidates?"

Romney: "I will not vote for candidates other than the candidates in my party."

Shout from the floor: "Answer the question, George, you bum!"

Romney: "That's my personal privilege, and I don't expect to answer that here. . . . ."

'No Weapon So Effective'

All over the country in the fall of 1964, in newspaper advertisements and broadcast commercials for President Johnson, voters were told "what leading Republicans really think about their candidate." Anti-Goldwater quotes were readily used from Gov. Rockefeller, Gov. Scranton—and George Romney.

That such material found its mark was attested to by the agency account executive who handled Johnson's mass-communications-media campaign. James D. Graham, of Doyle, Dane & Bernbach, said in a post-election analysis:

"We are humbly grateful to the senator's [Goldwater's] Republican colleagues. . . . There is no weapon so effective as the words of one's 'friends.'"

Gov. Romney, according to some Michigan reports, was not content merely to refuse support of Goldwater. Often, it is reported, people working in Romney's gubernatorial campaign informed voters how they could vote against Goldwater and vote for Romney by splitting their tickets.

A Goldwater campaign aide confirms the reports. "Gov. Romney not only failed to support the ticket in 1964," he says. "The party in Michigan issued specific instructions on how to split the ticket. Mr. Romney actually opposed Sen. Goldwater."

This writer has in his possession a copy of a flyer circulated in Michigan during the 1964 campaign. It tells voters how to split their tickets for Johnson and Romney. Emblazoned with the lavish heading, "Split Your Ticket!," the flyer bears a large picture of Johnson and an even larger picture of Romney. It supplies these "directions for voting" (italics and capital letters appear as in the flyer):

"1. Move the Red handle to the right to close curtain.

"2. Pull Down the lever over the name of Lyndon B. JOHNSON and *leave it down.*

"3. Pull DOWN the lever over the name of George ROMNEY and *leave it down.*

"4. Pull DOWN the lever over the names of other candidates of your choice.

"5. Move the Red handle back to the left and open the curtain. (TAKE THIS WITH YOU WHEN YOU VOTE)"

Goldwater's Party Loyalty

To Barry Goldwater, such a performance was completely baffling. It is generally agreed, even among Republicans who opposed his nomination, that the Arizonan has a record of party loyalty second to none.

It was the conservative Goldwater who, in 1960, rose before GOP national convention to ask all Republicans, liberal or conservative, to work shoulder-to-shoulder for the party's nominee, Richard Nixon. And it was Goldwater who served so energetically as chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, lending his efforts, time and appearances at party functions across the country in a grueling schedule in behalf of any and all GOP candidates, regardless of ideological differences.

These days, Romney is fond of claiming that for him to have supported Goldwater in 1964 would have been disastrous for the GOP in Michigan. But his claim is disputed by other liberal Republicans, including Sen. Mark Hatfield of Oregon, who as governor did support Goldwater. The liberal Hatfield points out that "we were the only state out of the 50 that in 1964 took a house of the legislative away from the Democrats . . . and I believe this is partially due to the fact that we had united Republican support for the ticket in Oregon."

After the 1964 election, Goldwater, puzzled by Romney's actions, sent the Governor a cordial letter asking for an explanation. Romney replied in a now famous letter of Dec. 21, 1964, in which he admitted his refusal to support the party's nominee.

The essence of both letters is by now familiar to most Republicans. In his letter to Romney, Goldwater said he was confused over Romney's having said, "We Republicans need to become inclusive rather than exclusive," reminding the governor it was he, Goldwater, who had urged every last Republican to work for Nixon in 1960.

Goldwater's letter to Romney continued: "You further state, 'We need to win elections and serve America as a broad-based party.' How does that statement possibly square with the actions of leaders like you and Nelson Rockefeller? Where was this broad-based feeling on your part when you repeatedly refused to back the national ticket?

" . . . where were you, George, when the chips were down and the going was hard? I don't claim for one moment that had you . . . supported me, I would have won. But I can tell you that many rank-and-file Republicans got a bad taste in their mouths when they saw [a leader] of their own party failing to support a national ticket."

In a rambling, 12-page reply to Goldwater, Gov. Romney appeared to make

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four basic charges, offering them as reasons for his 1964 performance. They were:

1. That all during the 1964 campaign, including the August 12 "unity" conference of top-level GOP leaders at Hershey, Pa., Romney was not allowed to meet with Goldwater for a clarifying "discussion in depth" on the issues, particularly civil rights.

2. That Sen. Goldwater's campaign "never effectively deviated from" what Romney termed its "Southern-rural-white orientation."

3. That Romney's proposed amendments to the party platform at the San Francisco convention had been subjected to "arbitrary rejection."

4. That "there had been a platform deal that was a surrender to the Southern segregationists, contrary to the entire tradition of the party. . . ."

Charges Lacked Evidence

To discerning newspapermen and Republicans, the charges in Romney's letter to Goldwater lacked convincing evidence. They deserve examination.

At the Hershey conference, attended by Eisenhower, Nixon, Goldwater, Romney and a host of other top GOP figures, it is a matter of record that Goldwater went to extraordinary lengths to outline his positions for Romney's benefit, including civil rights.

Indeed, the liberal Washington *Post*, a paper not unfriendly to Romney, notes that Goldwater had offered "long, detailed responses to Romney's criticisms" at Hershey, adding:

"The exchange is of pertinence now for its bearing on Romney's effort to prove it was political principle—not expediency—that prompted his refusal to endorse Goldwater in 1964."

At Hershey, as the transcript of the meeting later revealed, Romney admitted Goldwater had an "enviable personal record" on civil rights. But he insisted, nevertheless, the GOP candidate should speak out more often on the subject. In a lengthy response to Romney, Goldwater said in part:

"I have never gone to the South . . . that I haven't explained my position as being totally against segregation. . . . George, I don't know how I can say it any stronger or any oftener than I have said it. I have been talking on this subject for 12 solid years across this nation. . . .

Both former President Eisenhower and Nixon strongly supported Goldwater's statements. And both tried to get all at the conference, including Romney, to unite behind the national ticket. Liberal Gov. John H. Reed of Maine broke in at one point to tell Goldwater: "You have relieved the reservations that I had and you have my unqualified support."

Oddly enough, in view of the letter he wrote later, when Romney returned to Lansing he asserted Goldwater had done "much to clarify his public position" on civil rights. In a written statement, the governor said:

"The conference at Hershey was helpful. Sen. Goldwater did much to clarify his public position on foreign affairs, extremism and civil rights. He welcomed diversity of Republican viewpoints. He emphasized his intentions that his campaign will avoid racism and extremist support."

The record indicates Goldwater had done just that at Hershey. Once again, he publicly repudiated "character assassins, vigilantes, Communists and such groups as the Ku Klux Klan which seeks to impose its views through terror or violence." He emphasized: "I seek the support of no extremist, of the left or of the right."

Later however, despite his own statement at Lansing, Romney charged in his 1964 letter that Goldwater had made no "strong clarifying statement" against extremists at Hershey.

As for other "clarifying" meetings with Romney in 1966, Goldwater has recalled several for the Michigan governor's benefit:

"You and I met in my office at considerable length one day. Later I came to Michigan to appear before the delegates and give them ample time to question me and you ample time to do the same. If my memory serves me correctly, you and I had at least one other opportunity to bury what differences we had. But I am still in the dark as to just where we differ."

If Romney's disclaimers seem odd, a Goldwater campaign aide recalls:

"Barry never had a clear explanation from Mr. Romney of why Mr. Romney denounced him and failed to support the ticket. That was baffling. Mr. Romney would look him straight in the eye, say 'I always agreed with you, Barry.' Then Mr. Romney would go out in the hall and denounce him for 'extremist' views."

It must be said Romney's claim that the 1964 GOP campaign had a "Southern-rural-white orientation" suffers from further evidence to the contrary.

Goldwater, it should be recalled, personally arranged a meeting with his opponent, President Johnson, for the specific purpose of keeping the matter of race out of the campaign.

Pulitzer Prize-winning author Theodore H. White has taken careful note of Goldwater's initiative in freeing the race from a "Southern-rural-white orientation." In his *The Making of the President 1964*, author White points out that Goldwater determined "to exclude from the campaign dialogue as far as possible any implied appeal to racism—and accepting this exclusion with high principle and great responsibility, Goldwater took the loss."

Under scrutiny, Romney's criticisms regarding the 1964 Republican platform fare no better. The GOP party statement was actually stronger than the Democrats' on civil rights, and called for additional federal legislation when needed.

The platform's section on civil rights pledged, among other things, "full implementation and faithful execution" of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and "all other civil rights statutes, to assure equal rights and opportunities guaranteed by the Constitution to every citizen; improvements of civil rights statutes adequate to changing needs of our times," and "such additional administrative or legislative actions as may be required to end the denial, for whatever unlawful reason, of the right to vote. . . . The party of Lincoln," the section concluded, "will proudly and faithfully live up to its heritage of equal rights and equal opportunities for all."

Gov. Romney, seated on a street sweeper at right, tours Washington, D.C.'s slum areas as part of his "non-political" swing around the nation's ghettos. Seated next to him is Rufus "Catfish" Mayfield, a former reformatory inmate who heads up Pride, Inc., a taxpayer-financed clean-up project for unemployed youths.

Additionally, Romney's complaint that his amendments to the 1964 platform were subjected to "arbitrary rejection" appears to overlook normal procedure at political conventions.

The platform itself, of course, was approved first by the 100-member platform committee, including two members from each state, and was ratified by a majority of the delegates to the convention, 1,308 in all.

'Deal' With Segregationists

The Michigan governor appeared before the committee on July 8. His proposed amendments were considered and defeated by a parliamentary majority on two separate occasions, first in committe, then on the convention floor itself. That is certainly defeat—but it is hardly "arbitrary rejection."

Finally, the governor's charge against the platform committee headed by Wisconsin Rep. Melvin Laird that it was a partner to a "deal that was a surrender to the Southern segregationists" has drawn some understandably heated denials.

"This charge is amazing to me," says Laird. "I am certain there was no deal."

In charge of the civil rights plank was Rep. William M. McCulloch of Ohio. McCulloch was a sponsor of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

"Bill McCulloch is the leading authority in our party on civil rights," Laird says. "He does not go in for making 'deals.' He is one of the strongest advocates of fair and equitable civil rights legislation in the entire Congress."

Says McCulloch: "There was no 'deal' with anyone. The language of the civil rights plank is broad and comprehensive, and carries on even now as adequate to the needs of our times. Neither Sen. Goldwater nor any Southern delegage approached me or any other delegate in my presence on any such 'deal,' and they didn't choose the words in the platform. There is nothing whatsoever to this allegation."

Nor were Romney's charges of a "deal" with segregationist sentiment supported by any other members of the 1964 platform committee which included staunch party liberals, among them Sen. Scott of Pennsylvania, Rep. Silvio Conte of Massachusetts and Rep. Peter Frelinghuysen of New Jersey.

In retrospect, Romney seems, if anything, to have lost much more than he gained by the letter he wrote attempting to explain his refusal to support his party nationally.

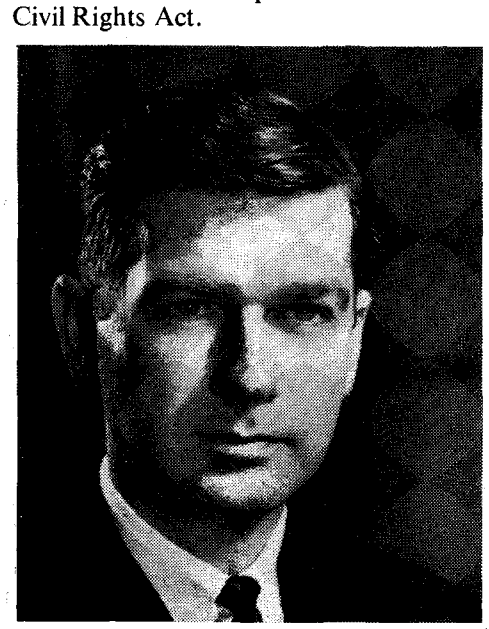
Following the letter's publication in December 1966, the Baltimore *Sun* reported, "Less than a month after George W. Romney's . . . triumph in the 1966 elections, his unannounced candidacy for the presidency has lost some of its luster."

The governor indeed appeared less and less a man with the characteristics required to enhance harmony within the GOP. He had stood almost alone in repudiating his party's presidential choice and has since offered, as reasons, charges that did not survive close examination.

Romney has since argued his 1964 performance would not present any "serious obstacle" to his nomination. The governor believes, apparently, the passing of four years will dim memories of his refusal to support his party's national ticket.

At least one Republican, however, has not forgotten. Barry Goldwater has observed: "I don't believe the party will forget the fact that he [Romney] took a walkout in 1964. . . . It's going to be very difficult for people who worked their hearts out for the party to forget that this man took a powder in 1964—without giving a reason."

Although Sen. Charles Percy (R.-Ill.) only lukewarmly supported the ticket, he did not bolt the party as did Romney.



Another "liberal" Republican, then-Gov. Mark Hatfield of Oregon, backed Goldwater after the convention.

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Confidential OAS Memo Circulated

Venezuela Hopes to Pressure U.S. into Stopping Castro's Subversion

From the Allen-Scott Report

As the fifth anniversary of the October 1962 missile crisis nears, the unresolved Cuban problem is rising again to plague President Johnson, as it did the Kennedy Administration.

The Venezuelan government, angry at the President for not taking the lead in curbing Castro's growing export of subversion to Latin America, has decided to force a new Cuban showdown.

At the forthcoming September 22-24 meeting here of foreign ministers of the Organization of American States, Venezuelan authorities plan to make the U.S. "fish or cut bait" by demanding support for a four-point stop-Castro program.

As outlined in a confidential memorandum circulated among the 20 other OAS members, the Venezuelan program calls for:

- Establishment of an international screen of air-naval surveillance around Cuba.
- U.S. military aid to protect Latin American nations from clandestine landings of Cuban-trained guerrillas by air and sea.
- A commercial-trade boycott of Cuba with whatever economic and diplomatic pressure is necessary to end free world trade with Castro.
- A cutoff of all air flights, telephone, telegraph and other communications with Cuba.

The Venezuelan memorandum demands "immediate action" and warns that Castro, backed by massive Soviet military and economic aid, is far stronger today than he was five years ago.

While the U.S. and other OAS members have failed to join in effective action to curb Cuba's export of subversion, Castro has trained more than 10,000 guerrillas and agents for infiltration into other Latin American nations, the memorandum charges.

The document highlights Venezuela's specific problem by pointing out that nearly 1,000 of these Cuban-trained terrorists and agents are now in Venezuela, although only a small number, about 200, have so far become active inside that strife-torn nation.

The State Department, in line with the Administration's "don't rock the boat" policy toward Cuba, is privately opposing three of Venezuela's four proposals. The President so far has authorized only support for "establishing an international screen of surveillance around Cuba." This surveillance fits into an enlarged intelligence-gathering effort that the Administration is planning.

Despite the Defense and State Departments' public attempts to play down the significance of new Soviet military shipments to Cuba, Administration insiders say State-Defense officials are privately concerned about the build-up and the changes being made in Castro's air defenses.

Fidel Castro continues to raise havoc with the security of the hemisphere.

As previously reported in this column, Castro is now concentrating his hundreds of ground-to-air missiles in four areas, rather than locating them around the entire island.

U.S. intelligence so far has not been able to pinpoint the reason for this change, although Cuban refugees claim the SAMs are protecting newly built IRBM and jet bomber bases.

The U.S. opposes the other Venezuelan proposals, according to a State Department position paper, because they would create as many problems as solved.

For instance, the cutoff of air flights and other communications with Cuba would force the end of the refugee airlift program, which already has brought more than 70,000 Cubans to the United States.

Despite U.S. opposition, Venezuela's President Raul Leoni has told several Latin American heads of government he will push his anti-Castro proposals to force the U.S. to take a public stand on Cuba.

Venezuela may get some unsolicited help from smoldering Cuban exile groups in Florida and New York, which are planning to converge on Washington and demonstrate during the OAS conference. More than 10,000 are expected. Their leaders call it tragically ironic for the U.S. to oppose Soviet-supported guerrilla warfare in Viet Nam while dragging its feet on Russian-backed subversion in this hemisphere.

★ ★ ★

Castro's chief guerrilla embarkation part is La Coma, Cuba, which has a large Soviet military garrison. The port is also in one of the four areas ringed by SAMs. Another Cuban guerrilla training base is near the Soviet-controlled airfield at San Julián, 90 miles southeast of Havana. Soviet-built cargo planes are reported using the field to fly guerrillas to Bolivia, where they are air dropped in mountain valleys.

In order to publicize their opposition to the Johnson Administration's Cuba policy, several of the Florida-based exile groups have hired a Washington public relations firm with close connections to the Republican national headquarters.

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Can Dollars Quell Riots?

Federal Spending on Cities Jumps 165% in Only 10 Years

By REP. CHARLES M. TEAGUE (R.-Calif.)

Whatever the nation's problems of the moment may be, there are always those who blame Congress. Currently, high Administration officials are attempting to lay the cause of this summer's riots and violence in many of our cities at the doorstep of Congress, contending that it has failed to adequately respond to the needs of our cities.

The fact is ignored by these critics that federal appropriations for programs in metropolitan areas, including major cities like Detroit where the costliest of the riots took place, have increased 165 per cent in less than a decade. They are undeterred in their criticism by President Johnson's own statement in his budget message for Fiscal Year 1968 that appropriations for metropolitan area expenditures have increased from $3.9 billion in 1960 to an estimated $10.3 billion in fiscal 1963.

The House Appropriations Committee has prepared a list (see box below) showing how some of this money in aid of cities has been spent during the last five years.

These figures do not include more than $2 billion for "War on Poverty" programs and other billions for such programs as highways, education, pollution control, maternal and child welfare, medical research and training, school lunches and milk, the food stamp program, and public assistance (direct welfare funds).

There are some who would take advantage of the nation's shame and disgrace this summer by undertaking a bigger splurge in federal spending. But it would seem that the more money that has been appropriated for all these programs, the more violence we have had. Therefore, it would seem that congressional spending alone will not end city riots.

Federal Spending on Cities—Last Five Years

Urban renewal	$3,684,245,000
Low-rent public housing	1,176,917,000
Housing for the elderly and handicapped	275,000,000
Neighborhood facilities and college housing	1,556,000,000
Urban planning grants	134,662,000
Open space land programs	209,475,000
Grants for water and sewage facilities	365,000,000
Public facility loans	600,000,000
Urban mass transportation grants	620,000,000
Model cities program (one year)	248,000,000
Total	**$8,869,299,000**

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Defense Secretary Robert McNamara outlines the proposed DMZ barrier.

McNamara's Iron Curtain

Is barrier really Viet Nam answer?

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

Secretary of Defense McNamara is building an iron curtain along the northern border of South Viet Nam to keep the North Vietnamese out. This is the flowering of his strategic concepts.

The Chinese Wall was built to keep out the barbarians. The Maginot Line was built to keep out the Germans. It is the persistent illusion of men who have lost the will to fight that bricks and mortar—or electronics—can be substituted for the spirit. Fighting men know better.

The place of obstacles in warfare has long been known to the military profession. They are effective aids in enabling a commander to hold a sector with weak forces while he masses his main force elsewhere to win a decision. They are useful only in the hands of an aggressive commander.

As adjuncts of a passive defense—protection without a purpose of destroying the enemy—obstacles can be self-defeating. They create in the defense a false sense of security which is more damaging than any injury the enemy could inflict in open warfare. They are a step toward surrender.

Secretary McNamara has no purpose of defeating North Viet Nam. His barricade will be part of a passive defense. It will be ineffectual. His willingness to go to great expense to build the barrier tells the enemy that the secretary has given up hope of ending the war at an early date.

There has been some speculation that the barrier will cut off infiltration from the north. It won't. The Ho Chi Minh Trail does not cross this border. The trail crosses from North Viet Nam into Laos, leads south in Laos, and crosses the western border of South Viet Nam at various places. This barrier will have no significant effect on enemy infiltration.

The iron curtain will inhibit North Viet Nam's attacks through the demilitarized zone, but it will not stop them. It will leave all initiative to the enemy.

Ho Chi Minh can move his forces into Laos and Cambodia and leave us sitting with our costly defensive structures. Will Secretary McNamara then extend his 40-mile barrier for 800 miles along the western border of South Viet Nam? Where will he get the manpower to defend such a position?

If the secretary withdraws our defensive forces from the barrier, the enemy will come back and destroy it. The secretary is tying our forces to the ground. But the enemy can move because he knows the secretary does not dare to invade North Viet Nam.

These considerations illustrate the impossibility of achieving a defensive resolution of the conflict in Viet Nam. When your neighbor attacks you, there is no substitute for a smashing attack on his soil and forces to convince him of his imprudence.

This wasting war is derived from a small and seemingly innocent error made early in the Kennedy Administration. President Kennedy thought he could reason with aggressors. He couldn't, and we can't. Aggressors are outlaws who by their nature are amenable only to superior force.

We have the superior force, but we do not have leaders who know how to use it wisely. Our force is being wasted by men who are loath to use it at all. That is why we are bogged down in a big war.

This iron curtain is another gesture to compensate for a failing policy. It arouses ill-founded hope that a reduction of conflict will somehow be accomplished.

Secretary McNamara is casting about for new ploys to sustain his faulty strategy. All are futile. He cannot escape ultimate defeat as long as he clings to the illusion that he can win this war in South Viet Nam.

By taking the initiative to destroy the enemy ground forces where they are, he could end this war in six months with fewer casualties than he will incur in that period by continuing present policy. His preferred strategy demonstrates that this reality is beyond his comprehension.

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SENATOR SOAPER OPINES:—"The man at the next desk says he approves of the 'War on Poverty,' except that it seems to attract an awful lot of mercenaries."—From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

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PLAYING POLITICS — A cynic might observe that the President hardly can be blamed for playing politics during the riots. After all, LBJ's policy of playing politics with the poor is what helped *cause* the riots!

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Former Oklahoma Gov. Henry Bellmon, now chairman of the Nixon for President Committee, addresses a news conference at which he claimed "Dick Nixon is the strongest candidate" to unseat LBJ.

Can Nixon Make Comeback?

Analogy with Cleveland proves interesting

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

Sometimes, as the Scriptures tell us, the stone that the builders rejected becomes the head and cornerstone—a way of saying that Richard Nixon is very much in the presidential picture for '68.

The sayer was former Gov. Henry Bellmon of Oklahoma, who now heads the Nixon operations in Washington. He didn't use that language, but he put it in our minds. Bellmon made the point that, while America doesn't like losers, it loves a never-say-die fighter. Nothing is more thrilling in sports or politics than a comeback.

Grover Cleveland, an unseated ex-President, made the political comeback of the 19th Century. In 1892, having been beaten four years before by Benjamin Harrison, Cleveland won under circumstances not unlike those which surround Nixon. Not only was Cleveland up against a sitting President in Harrison, and a dominant party in the GOP, but he had the kind of fringe-opposition that Nixon may get.

In 1892 the Socialists, the Prohibitionists and the Populists all had presidential candidates to clutter up the ballot. In 1968, we may have splinter parties headed by George Wallace and Martin Luther King and/or Benjamin Spock.

Cleveland won, as Nixon may win, because the nation regretted its previous choice. Cleveland was a man four-square, a strike-breaker with federal troops, a diehard for fiscal integrity, fearless of unpopularity when he knew he was right, holding the loyalty of his party against the trimmers and the show-offs.

In the year of defeat, Cleveland had run 100,000 popular votes ahead of Harrison, but missed out in the electoral college. Democrats thought him unfairly defeated, by machine-politics, as many Republicans feel that Nixon was counted out in 1960 by chicanery in the bossed precincts of Illinois and Texas. If there's a Cleveland-Nixon analogy in the subconscious American mind which pollsters cannot read, then the former vice president may be heading for the comeback of our century.

Despite the familiar examples of twice-beaten Dewey and thrice-beaten Bryan, it just isn't historically true that rejected candidates don't make the grade. Jefferson had been beaten by Adams and tied by Burr before becoming a two-term President. Andrew Jackson, another two-termer, had been a previous loser. William Henry Harrison split two decisions against Van Buren for the presidential prize.

Nixon's handicap to date has not merely been his defeats in 1960 and 1962. It's been his membership in a minority party. As John Kennedy repeated throughout the 1960 campaign, it was a contest between the parties of Jefferson-Jackson-Roosevelt and of Harding-Coolidge-Hoover. Nixon failed, and might fail again, by not attracting dissident Democrats and untethered Independents.

But look at what's happened since 1960-62. The GOP today, with 25 state governorships and large gains in Congress, is a minority party in name only. Republican wins all over Dixie have completed the breakup of the once Solid South. Meanwhile, the fabricated mythology of JFK, and the fallacious overestimate of LBJ, have fallen apart in the glare of reality.

What American wouldn't rather have had Nixon, the Eisenhower protege, in the two Cuban crises? Who believes any longer that Johnsonian "consensus" is a way of government? The man who gets the GOP nomination next year may well be running against a White House incumbent who has already defeated himself, or been defeated by circumstances, as was Hoover in 1932. There will be discontented Democrats and switch-voting Independents all over the landscape. By every sign, we are heading into a Republican "year."

Skeptics, myself among them, will want to see Nixon perform in the primaries. Doubting Thomases will have to be shown how "new" he really is. As for myself, I wouldn't mind seeing something of the "old" Nixon who punched his way to power in the 1940s and 1950s.

Anyhow, Gov. Bellmon, with his well-chosen words, has started some re-thinking among the Washington press corps. America would love to participate in the comeback of a true fighter.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

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RUMOR HAS IT that Defense Secretary McNamara doesn't want to quit until the Viet Nam war is won. Apparently he's after a life-time appointment.

Answering the Mail

By MORRIE RYSKIND

The Pests—I have a profusion of mail, both pro and con, on my recent columns on rats. Mainly pro, I am glad to say, but let me answer the con men. I am against rats, roaches, rattlesnakes, gophers and Japanese beetles, and am all for getting rid of them. But I don't believe they constitute a reason for shooting innocent people.

Incidentally, I note that Yugoslavia is suffering from an invasion of armies of hungry mice that have eaten up most of the crops. Can that, too, be blamed on race prejudice and the exertion of "white power" in suppressing the Negro?

The Clergy—Letters from a number of clergymen assure me they have spoken out in their pulpits against the riots, and several even enclose a copy of their texts. But one complains that the religious editors rarely run such items, preferring to note the sermons of those who demand a Marshall plan for slum clearance. "If we don't clean up the people's attitude first," he asks, "how can we hope to clean up their slums?"

I wish I knew, Reverend. Maybe we first ought to clean up the do-gooders who preach rights—without responsibility.

The Brown Boys—Some correspondents confuse Rap Brown with Pat Brown, and I understand their mistake. Though, as far as I know, the two are not related, the striking similarity in names extends to much of their political philosophy. And their speeches, as recorded in the papers, make them almost indistinguishable to the casual reader.

For clarification, Rap is with SNCC and is currently out on bail; Pat was formerly with CDC (California Democratic Clubs) and is currently out of the gubernatorial job in Sacramento. And Rap is the younger.

Each wants a separate state for his people. Rap has not announced which commonwealth he prefers; Pat, of course, wants California returned to the Democrats.

Both contend that anyone opposing them is against the Negro and the poor. Rap thus accuses LBJ, while Pat leveled similar charges against Reagan in the campaign, adding the indictment of anti-Semitism. Here the boys differ somewhat, since SNCC is now officially anti-Semitic and Rap may condemn Lyndon for pro-Semitism any day.

To both the public treasury is there to be raided, and any concern for it reeks of fascism. Indeed, Pat now asserts that Gov. Reagan opposes good health, since the mounting cost of medical services has forced the state to make some cuts therein. To Reagan's point that he cannot pay out any more than he takes in, Pat triumphantly responds that, as governor, he did that very thing most successfully.

Rap violently opposes fighting the Viet Cong, and urges that Negroes should rather arm themselves against "Whitey" at home. While Pat is not an out-and-out dove, he recently indorsed (so, incidentally, did Hubert Humphrey) a state Demo candidate who is as much against the war as Rap.

Said candidate had all Rap's "Black Power" and the New Left behind him, besides Pat and Hubert and the Demo state chairman—but lost. Lost in a district where Democratic registration outnumbers the GOP by 2 to 1. That tells something—or doesn't it?

Still, you can't lose them all, and Pat, gossip says, may yet wind up on the Supreme Court. Interestingly, some scuttlebutt—this from those who believe a peacenik will win in 1968—even suggests Rap may wind up there, too.

A sceptic, I strongly suspect both rumors are mongered with tongue in cheek. I have, however, seen some equally incredible appointments in recent years and so am not prepared to wager against both Brown boys making it. And, if so, their judicial decisions will undoubtedly read alike, God help us all.

In any event, if you get confused, remember Rap is the younger one. And, come to think of it, shows up better on TV.

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The 'New Politics': Mixture of Racism, Communism and Blackmail

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

For some of the liberals present—or watching the TV pick-ups—the National Conference for New Politics was a traumatic experience. This was the first sustained exposure of the "New Left," and the face it presented to the nation was ugly, pockmarked by hate, and ruthless. These aspects have been more or less covered by the newspapers and have had their drubbing from the pundits. But few have bothered to put the organizational structure of the NCNP under a microscope or to examine the motivation of those who masterminded the spectacle.

By now, those who bothered to watch know that the New Left has been infected by that virulent disease, Communist anti-Semitism. That the party of Marx, Lenin and Stalin should be a carrier comes as no surprise to those who remember the hook-nosed, whip-bearing Jews which inhabited the cartoons of (pro-Communist) American and Soviet artists during the period of the Hitler-Stalin Pact.

This was the first time, however, that it was broadcast by the mass media, and it shook those who have been led to believe that anti-Semitism was the exclusive sickness of Adolf Hitler, Gerald L. K. Smith and their sorry followers.

There was some chortling at the way in which some Jewish delegates to the conference in Chicago accepted the clearly racist nature of the anti-Israel resolutions rammed through by the Communists and their "Black Power" allies. There was some incredulity over the manner in which "Black Power" delegates, 200 in all, were able to force the conference to give them equal voting strength with the 2,100 white delegates—an exercise in "democracy" which blatantly demonstrated the concern of the New Left over equality and civil rights.

What few asked was how the New Left conference was rigged. After all, there were innocents in plenty who believed that they were attending the birth of an idealistic political movement. Certainly, their votes should have at the very least registered a protest against the totalitarianism of "Black Power."

The fact, simply, is that the innocents had no more say in what went on than they did in the 1930s and 1940s, when the Communist apparatus was using them to flesh out one subversive organization after another. They were invited to give the appearance of broadly based mass action. Once in Chicago, they had the choice of walking out or knuckling under. And given their dedication to the proposition that opposition to communism is surrender to facism, most of them submitted to the rape of their ideals.

Under the circumstances, they had no other course short of declaring the nonconformity which they always protest is theirs but which they submerge to expediency. For the National Conference for New Politics was no more a meeting of free minds than the 1948 Progressive party in Philadelphia that "nominated" Henry Wallace for the presidency.

Under the rules drawn up by the Communist puppeteers, any organization—no matter what its size—could have a minimum of five delegates to the conference. What the Communists did was to proliferate "organizations" in every state of the union. In Kentucky alone, 38 such paper groups were set up by the Communists, giving them 190 delegates from that state alone. The Communists, therefore, were the controlling group at the NCNP. Allied to the "Black Power" caucus, they could manipulate the meeting.

The Communists and the "Black Power" caucus, moreover, were the only adequately financed force. With money and discipline, they could easily rout the pathetically feeble efforts of the non-aligned New Leftists who believed that they had been called together to debate and persuade.

One of the victims of the National Conference for New Politics was Walter Reuther. Let it be said right off that Mr. Reuther is not a Communist. But he is one of those activists who believes that he is smart enough to manipulate the Communist machine. He had seen the NCNP as one more group to use in the formation of his "union of the poor," with which he hopes to dominate national politics.

The spectacle of the Communist-"Black Power" alliance was a little too raw. The takeover by the Communists of the Wallace Progressive party was not a subtle one, but the participants—from Mr. Wallace down—had not had their noses rubbed in it. Those who thought they were organizating the NCNP cannot claim, now that the meeting is over, that they did not know the gun was loaded. The New Politics movement will remain with us, but it is exposed for what it is.

When the pendulum swings back and sanity returns to America, those who persist in remaining allied to the NCNP will have some monumental explaining to do. After all, racism, communism, and blackmail can hardly be fobbed off as "20th Century Americanism."

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CORE Chairman Floyd McKissick addresses the New Politics conference, telling delegates that organization from the bottom up is the key to "black political power."

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Urge to Compulsion

How Liberals Would Control 'Dangerous Thoughts'

By FREDERIC NELSON

I have been waiting for weeks to hear some outcry from champions of free speech and foes of "McCarthyism" about the following two items of news:

The first is a London dispatch to the New York *Times* by Clyde H. Farnsworth, dated August 10. It states that "Scotland Yard is preparing a report for the attorney general, Sir Elwyn Jones, on whether to prosecute Duncan Sandys, a former Conservative cabinet minister, for incitement to racial hatred." Mr. Sandys' alleged offense was that during a television interview he predicted racial violence in England unless colored immigration was restricted.

The second item, also from the New York *Times*, this one dated June 10, concerned an announcement by the Anti-Defamation League that it would start a nationwide system of monitoring radio broadcasts, "as a result of what the organization termed anti-Semitic remarks that had been heard...in connection with the war in the Middle East." The programs aimed at are those during which a commentator invites questions and comments by radio audience, members of which telephone him to sound off.

The Anti-Defamation League cited such questions as "Why should we send American boys to fight Israel's war?" and "After we fought their war in Germany, why should we do it again?" in support of its demand for "monitoring" such programs—and by implication taking some sort of action against them. Rabbi Jay Kaufman, an ADL vice president, also took off against newspapers which mentioned the hawkishness of certain anti-Viet Nam doves when it came to the war in the Middle East.

You would think that either of these episodes would stir up a storm among civil righters and advocates of the unrestricted right to speak on any subject, seditious or treasonable tirades included. Up to now I have not observed a single editorial raised eyebrow.

And yet in England, traditionally jealous of a man's right to express his opinions with no fear of Star Chamber proceedings, it is solemnly debated whether or not to prosecute a former minister of defense, not to mention former son-in-law of Sir Winston himself, for stating one side of the argument on controlling colored immigration, an issue of great concern to the British public, expecially so after the outbreaks of racial violence in the United States.

It is doubtful that even Britain's Socialist rulers will be stupid enough actually to prosecute Mr. Sandys for violating the Relations Act, which provides for fines up to a thousand quid and two years in prison for stirring up "hatred against any section of the public in Great Britain distinguished by color, race, or ethic or national origins." It is alarming enough that such a possibility should be seriously considered by anybody, least of all Socotland Yard and the British Cabinet!

Mr. Sandys did say that a continuation of colored immigration could result in "the breeding of millions of half-caste children and a generation of misfits," thus adding to existing tensions. I suppose this speculation might cause some Englishmen to hate colored people, and some colored people and white liberals to hate Mr. Sandys. The precise amount of hate generated by any public utterance would apparently be left for public authority to decide. Thus a club-footed effort to compel tolerance by law threatens to turn into a device to suppress freedom of speech. The philosopher who deplored "the harm that good men do" had something.

Even isolated criticisms of Israel's conduct of the war in the desert—amid the almost universal hosannahs hereabouts—are painful to Jewish people, especially to the Anti-Defamation League which makes a career of tracking down anti-Semitism, real and imaginary. But after all, Israel is now a nation, complete with a foreign office, an army (a good one), militarists, anti-militarists, doves, hawks and presumably flower people.

As a nation, Israel can hardly expect to be immune from criticisms, canards, snide attacks and journalistic pontifications—any more than can de Gaulle's France, Chiang's Formosa, Wilson's Britain, Nasser's UAR or Johnson's U.S.A. When Israeli embassies are sacked by fanatics chanting the words of Mao, full national stature will have been attained. In the meantime, efforts to compel or pressure radio's opinion jockeys to censure unkind remarks suggests a degree of immaturity short of nationhood.

The attitude also suggests, however, the urge to compulsion which appears to lurk behind most efforts to curb "dangerous thoughts."

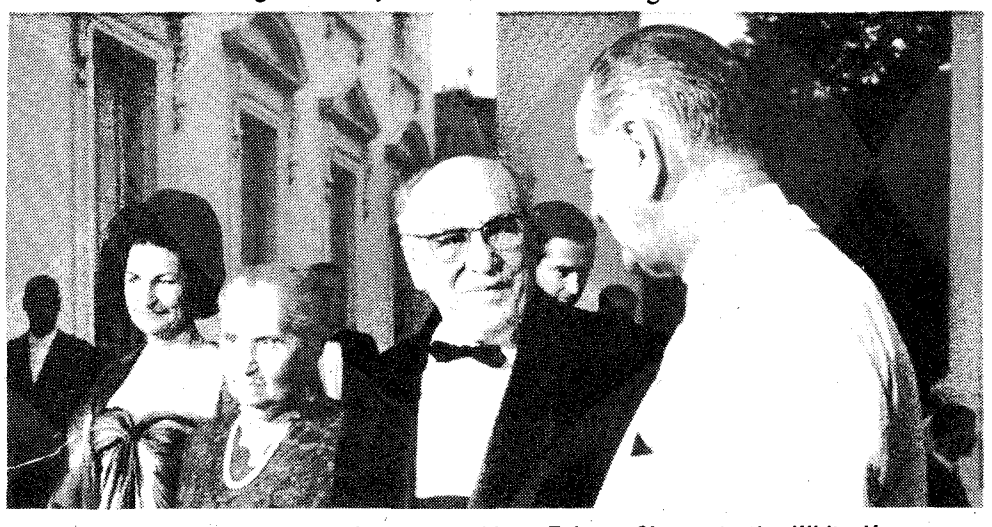
Certain offshoots of the civil rights program reek with this taint. The proposal semantically labelled "open housing" is advanced as a must for justice for Negroes, but it involves compulsion, including fines and imprisonment, for owners of property, be they black or white, who dispose of their property in a manner which somebody may rise up to complain was contrary to law.

In Boston liberals are disappointed with the Massachusetts law requiring an end to racial "imbalance" in the public schools. State Sen. Beryl Cohen complains that the present law is ineffective because it lacks compulsion. "This should not be a defensive fight," says Sen. Cohen. Boston, to be sure, has been carting children in buses hither and yon in an effort to bring about a racial mix as nearly 50-50 as possible. Trouble is parents of both colors don't care for the bussing and the net result could be the election as mayor of Louise Day Hicks, the former chairman of the school board whose popularity is based on her opposition to the liquidation of the neighborhood school—in the effort to end imbalance.

The urge to compulsion can also be detected among members of the American Bar Association whose zeal for the right of criminal clients is so great that they would like to compel newspapers and radio stations by law to suppress evidence indicating that accused persons might be criminals after all!

This extraordinary attempt to throttle press freedom could, as has been pointed out often enough, deprive the public of the records of rioters and other criminals, adding to the already monumental difficulties, imposed by the Supreme Court, in the way of protecting communities against violence and disorder. Already the police are required to be so circumspect in dealing with suspected persons, and the suspects so thoroughly protected against effective interrogation, that by the time the fellow's case gets to trial he has, what with the rules of evidence, a royal chance of going free. It's happening every day. As a Civil Liberties Union executive in New York gloated, the police are becoming "wary" about making arrests! All we need now is a law to make the public at large as ignorant as judge and jury about the records and activities of the miscreants being turned loose.

Fortunately there are a lot of people in the United States who, despite current indifference, don't care for compulsions which operate on the goodies and leave the baddies free to be as bad as they like. A few editors jailed for exposing a criminal gang; a few house owners fined for selling their places to people with the wrong pigmentation; a few radio hams suppressed for permitting remarks like "To hell with Kosygin" or "My son wasn't raised to fight for Marshal Ky!" and something might actually happen. It might be a rising of "new politics" that would make the New Politics you've been hearing about look as dated as Henry Wallace's Progressive party of 1948.



President Johnson welcomes Israeli President Zalman Shazar to the White House. Author Nelson notes that the Anti-Defamation League wanted to censor any radio speeches which were anti-Israel in the recent Mideast turmoil.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Welfare Unions?

By SEN. ALLEN ELLENDER (D.-La.)

Only recently, a mass meeting of welfare recipients, mainly from Washington and New York City, was held here in the Nation's Capitol. [See *Human Events*, Sept. 9, 1967, page 8]. A stormy meeting was even held in one of the Senate Office Buildings. Demonstrators had to be removed from the office of the minority leader. The building housing the Department of Health, Education and Welfare was picketed, and many demands were made.

This indicates to me the state that this nation is coming to. I have heard reports that serious attempts are being made to organize a national union of those receiving welfare payments, similar to some of the respected labor organizations of our country. In this manner, it will be possible for those receiving assistance from their government to press their demands more effectively on the local, state and national levels.

Personally, I can think of very few things that are further removed from the American principles that made our country great. I do not believe the Congress will look kindly on these activities; neither will the state and local governments, nor the vast majority of hard-working, American taxpayers who go quietly about their business of earning a living so that their bills can be paid, and their government supported.

Rising Food Prices

By REP. CATHERINE MAY (R.-Wash.)

Everything we know about domestic food production and world demand for food indicates that food prices are going to have to rise. It seems to me that no one at any point or level of the food industry needs to apologize for his record of performance in trying to take care of the consumer. The only thing that robs the consumers of purchasing power is inflation, and inflation is not the business of the farmer or of food marketers; inflation is the business of government.

Why No Results?

By SEN. KARL MUNDT (R.-S.D.)

In less than a decade we have almost tripled federal expenditures for assistance to the poor. But the sad fact is that while the spending totals have gone up, the problems of poverty apparently have been magnified to such degree that we had virtual armed rebellion in many cities of the nation this summer. What's the answer? I don't pretend to have it, as a good many apparently think they do. But of one thing I am certain: Before this country, at the urging of those advocating "more money," launches itself on an even greater federal spending spree to "aid the poor," we'd better find out why the more than $100 billion allocated in recent years hasn't come close to accomplishing what those same "more money" advocates promised before.

OEO Politicking

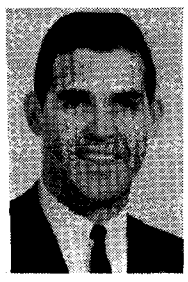
By REP. JAMES GARDNER (R.-N.C.)

After six weeks of hearings before the Education and Labor Committee, I'm convinced that we now need legislation that would remove the Office of Economic Opportunity from any political activity. I introduced a bill co-sponsored by 24 Republicans, including the ranking minority leadership, Mr. Ayres, Mr. Goodell, and Mr. Quie, that in the future would remove the Office of Economic Opportunity from political activity. This bill specifically says that OEO employes cannot become involved in any partisan or non-partisan elections, and most important, they cannot become involved in voter registration drives.

Firemen's Risks

By REP. BUZ LUKENS (R.-Ohio)

I recently introduced legislation to provide stiff federal penalties for anyone who attacks or interferes with a fireman performing his duties during a riot. The measure carries a fine of up to $10,000 and a prison term of up to 10 years for anyone found guilty of discharging a firearm at a fireman. For interference other than shooting, the legislation includes a maximum of $10,000 fine and five years in prison, or both. I believe that this is the least we can do to provide the maximum security and protection for those firemen who risk their lives daily to protect our society.



Crime No. 1 Problem

By REP. DAN KUYKENDALL (R.-Tenn.)

Growing disrespect for law and order is certainly the No. 1 problem in America. I don't know why we should be surprised at the increase in lawlessness when we consider the attitude of the attorney general who seems to refuse to take any crime from violence on the streets to treason as a matter of serious concern. With such a philosophy being held by those responsible for the administration of justice, America can expect no reduction in crime until we demand the appointment of Justice Department officials who will quit making excuses for criminals and start protecting decent, law-abiding citizens.

Rush ABM Sites

By REP. LESLIE ARENDS (R.-Ill.)

We should proceed at once on the development of an anti-ballistic-missile system. Last year the Congress added $168 million to the defense appropriations so that at least a beginning might be made toward producing such a system. Secretary McNamara refused to use the funds. The only reason the Administration gives for not going ahead with this vitally important defense program is that it hopes to reach an agreement with Russia. In the meantime, Red China is rapidly achieving a nuclear capability.

And we know that Russia has been developing an anti-ballistic-missile system around Moscow and Leningrad. An anti-ballistic-missile system to protect our cities cannot be produced and deployed in a year or even two.

School Vandalism

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

Despite all the government money that was spent in Washington, D.C., to put youngsters on the payroll, and the claims of the great good that was accomplished, city officials have announced another all-time record of wanton destruction. No less than $175,000 worth of public school window panes were shattered with rocks, slingshots and pellet guns. This compares with $130,000 worth of school window panes smashed in the previous summer vacation period. And the $175,000 in shattered window glass doesn't take into account the interior damage from water that came in during rainstorms nor the damage to classrooms from vandalism. This senseless destruction on such a scale can occur only when a substantial part of the adult population is without civic pride or responsibility.

Don't Reward Rioters

By SEN. RUSSELL LONG (D.-La.)

Illiterate slum-dwellers—having been urged to show contempt for the law, having seen such a program of lawlessness prevail, having seen the federal government cater to the illegal demonstrations of Selma and Birmingham, having seen Martin Luther King awarded the famous Nobel Peace Prize for his role in these "nonviolent" violations of the law, having heard the Rev. King, Stokely Carmichael and others assert that violence will come if their demands are not met—can hardly be blamed for concluding there is something to be gained by taking the law into their own hands. In light of this, I shall insist that no one, no city, no state be granted special advantage at federal expense because of the latest riots in Newark, Detroit and elsewhere. To bend the federal knee again to lawlessness can lead only to more of the same.

Behind Red China's 'Revolution'

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (R.-S.C.)

Recently the Red Chinese "cultural revolution" has presented an extremely puzzling face to the world. When two U.S. jets accidentally strayed over the Vietnamese border and were shot down, Peking charged that the United States and the Soviet Union were acting in collusion to violate her territory. When the British colony of Hong Kong suspended the publication of several Communist newspapers, Mao's Red Guards in Peking set fire to the British Embassy and attacked British diplomatic officials. At the same time, an increasing number of reports from the interior of Red China say that Mao's government itself is on the verge of collapse because of the so-called "cultural revolution."

Each of these stories makes it appear as though Red China were deliberately acting against its own interests. Whatever the differences between Peking and Moscow, we know that both are united in their hope for the destruction of the United States.

Regardless of Red Chinese anger over the closing of their propaganda organs in Hong Kong, we know that Hong Kong has served Red China well in providing an avenue of trade and foreign exchange. Finally, it seems curious that Mao's regime would risk its own destruction by its apparent encouragement of internal anarchy.

The primary fact to consider is that there is little evidence that the current upheavals are a struggle for freedom. What we are witnessing is a struggle for power between two Communist factions—the one led by Mao Tse Tung, and the other by men whom Mao considers favorable to Soviet communism. No matter who wins in China, the result almost probably will be some kind of Communist government.

Almost a decade ago, a genuine freedom movement existed on the mainland of China, but the presence of the U.S. 7th Fleet Amphibious Task Force in the Straits of Taiwan effectively choked off that movement and prevented Chiang Kai-shek's agents and military forces from rendering assistance. With the increase today in Mao Tse Tung's nuclear arsenal, the U.S. will have much to answer for to future generations.

The factional struggle of the Chinese Communists has existed since the very beginning of Chinese communism. In many ways it resembles the struggle between Trotsky, who wanted to set the whole world aflame at once, and Lenin, who hoped to encircle the free nations and take them one by one. Trotsky's theory risked anarchy and the danger that the revolutionaries themselves might be destroyed before their task was done. Lenin's theory was more practical, and based upon a careful analysis of organizational strength.

There ought to be no doubt about which theory, in the long run, is more dangerous to the United States. It is unsophisticated to maintain that the Soviet Union is mellowing; reality is far more complex.

The Soviets have never lost sight of their goal of world conquest; but they have learned more effective and more subtle ways of advancing their designs at the expense of freedom.

Mao Tse Tung is more honest and more consistent in this revolutionary philosophy. Revolution, in its essence, means the destruction of existing society. Mao demands the elimination of any remaining traces of individual will and desire. All actions, all thoughts, all existence is imposed from the top. Everything, no matter how ridiculous, must be attributed to the thought of Mao.

The simple repression of resistance is not enough. Resistance itself must be eliminated. The "cultural revolution" is designed to provoke resistance and bring it to the surface, so that every person who, in his own mind, clings obstinately to some private desire, can be liquidated.

The willingness to undergo such terrible social costs explains why Peking can consciously bait the British, the Soviets and the Americans almost in one breath. No matter which Communist faction prevails, our hope for continued freedom is to maintain a clear superiority of American military power.

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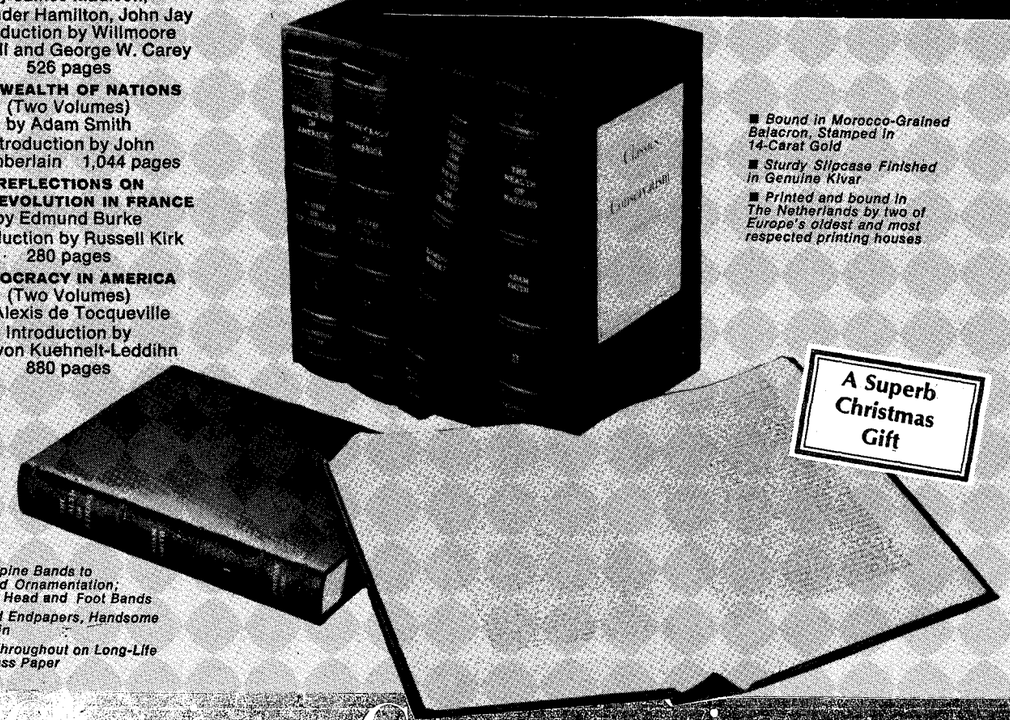

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Edmund Burke, too, is a man for our time: like us he lived in an age of revolution. He saw intellectuals of satanic arrogance itching to make mankind conform to their blueprints and contemptuous of every value that Western civilization stood for. And he saw what it would all lead to: lawless mobs screaming for blood. Burke shows us in *Reflections on the Revolution in France* why the one inevitably leads to the other – why the people we call Liberals make smooth the path to Auschwitz and Budapest... the Bay of Pigs... Berkeley... Watts.

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